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# THE INDICA OF ARRIAN.

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TRANSLATED AND ANNOTATED

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## THE INDICA OF ARRIAN.\*

I. The regions beyond the river Indus on the west are inhabited, up to the river Copbon, by two Indian tribes, the Astaceni and the Assaceni, who are not men of great stature like their brethren on the other side of the Indus, nor so brave, nor yet so swarthy as most Indians. They were in old times subject to the Assyrians, then after a period of Median rule submitted to the Persians, and paid to Cyrus the son of Cambyses the tribute from their land which Cyrus had imposed. The Nysaeans, however, are not an Indian race, but descendants of those who came into India with Dionysus,—perhaps not only of those Greeks who had been disabled for service in the course of the wars which Dionysus waged against the Indians, but perhaps also of natives of the country whom Dionysus, with their own consent, had settled along with the Greeks. The district in which he planted this colony he named Nysaea, after Mount Nysa, and the city itself Nysa. But the mountain close by the city, and on the lower slopes of which it is built, is designated Meros, from the accident which befell the god immediately after his birth. These stories about Dionysus are of course but fictions of the poets, and we leave them to the

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\* From Teubner's edition—Leipzig, 1867.

learned among the Greeks or barbarians to explain as they may. In the dominions of the Assaceni there is a great city called Massaca, the seat of the sovereign power which controls the whole realm. And there is another city, Peucclaitis, which is also of great size and not far from the Indus. These settlements lie on the other side of the river Indus, and extend in a westward direction as far as the Cophon.

*Particulars*

II. Now the countries which lie to the east of the Indus I take to be India Proper, and the people who inhabit them to be Indians. The northern boundaries of India *so defined* are formed by Mount Taurus, though the range does not retain that name in these parts. Taurus begins from the sea which washes the coasts of Pamphylia, Lycia, and Cilicia, and stretches away towards the Eastern Sea, intersecting the whole continent of Asia. The range bears different names in the different countries which it traverses. In one place it is called Parapamisus, in another Emodus, and in a third Imaus, and it has perhaps other names besides. The Macedonians, again, who served with Alexander called it Caucasus,—this being another Caucasus and distinct from the Scythian, so that the story went that Alexander penetrated to the regions beyond Caucasus.

On the west the boundaries of India are marked by the river Indus all the way to the



great ocean into which it pours its waters, which it does by two mouths. These mouths are not close to each other, like the five mouths of the Danube, but divergo like those of the Nile, by which the Egyptian delta is formed. And so in like manner does the Indus make an Indian delta, which is not inferior in area to the Egyptian, and is called in the Indian tongue *Pattala*.

On the south-west, again, and on the south, India is bounded by the great ocean just mentioned, which also forms its boundary on the east. The parts toward the south about *Pattala* and the river Indus were seen by Alexander and many of the Greeks, but in an eastern direction Alexander did not penetrate beyond the river *Hyphasis*, though a few authors have described the country as far as the river *Ganges* and the parts near its mouths and the city of *Palimbothra*, which is the greatest in India, and situated near the *Ganges*.

III. *I shall now state the dimensions of India*, and in doing so let me follow Eratosthenes of Cyrene as the safest authority, for this Eratosthenes applied himself to descriptive geography. He states, then, that if a line be drawn from Mount *Taurus*, where the Indus has its springs, along the course of that river and as far as the great ocean and the mouths of the Indus, this side of India will measure 13,000 stadia. But the contrary side, which diverges from the same point of *Taurus* and runs along

the Eastern Sea, he makes of a much different length, for there is a headland which projects far out into the sea, and this headland is in length about 3,000 stadia. The eastern side of India would thus by his calculation measure 16,000 stadia, and this is what he assigns as the breadth of India. The length, again, from west to east as far as the city of Palimbothra he sets down, he says, as it had been measured by *schæni*, since there existed a royal highway, and he gives it as 10,000 stadia. But as for the parts beyond they were not measured with equal accuracy. Those, however, who write from mere hearsay allege that the breadth of India, inclusive of the headland which projects into the sea, is about 10,000 stadia, while the length measured from the coast is about 20,000 stadia. But Ctesias of Cnidus says that India equals in size all the rest of Asia, which is absurd; while Onesicritus as absurdly declares that it is the third part of the whole earth. Nearchus, again, says that it takes a journey of four months to traverse even the plain of India; while Megasthenes, who calls the breadth of India its extent from east to west, which others call its length, says that where shortest the breadth is 16,000 stadia, and that its length—by which he means its extent from north to south—is, where narrowest, 22,300 stadia. But, whatever be its dimensions, the rivers of India are certainly the largest to

be found in all Asia. The mightiest are the *Ganges*, and the *Indus* from which the country receives its name. Both are greater than the Egyptian *Nile* and the Scythian *Danubio* even if their streams were united into one. I think, too, that even the *Acœsines* is greater than either the *Danube* or the *Nile* where it joins the *Indus* after receiving its tributaries the *Hydaspes* and the *Hydractes*, since it is at that point so much as 300 stadia in breadth. It is also possible that there are even many other larger rivers which take their course through India.

IV. But I am unable to give with assurance of being accurate any information regarding the regions beyond the *Hypasis*, since the progress of Alexander was arrested by that river. But to recur to the two greatest rivers, the *Ganges* and the *Indus*. ✓*Megasthenes* states that of the two the *Ganges* is much the larger, and other writers who mention the *Ganges* agree with him; for besides being of ample volume even where it issues from its springs, it receives as tributaries the river *Cainas*, and the *Erannoobas*, and the *Cossoanus*, which are all navigable. It receives, besides, the river *Sonus* and the *Sittocatis*, and the *Solomatis*, which are also navigable, and also the *Condochates*, and the *Sambus*, and the *Magon*, and the *Agoranis*, and the *Omialis*. It further re-

ceives the *Commenses*, which is a very considerable stream, and the *Caouthis*, and the *Andomatis*, which flows from the dominions of the *Madyandini*, an Indian tribe. In addition to all these, it is joined by the *Amystis*, which flows past the city *Castadupas*, and the *Oxymagis* from the dominions of a tribe called the *Pazala*, and the *Errenysis* from the *Mathæ*, an Indian tribe. Regarding these streams *Megasthenes* asserts that none of them is inferior to the *Meander*, even at the navigable part of its course; and as for the *Ganges*, why, it has a breadth where narrowest of one hundred stadia, while in many places it spreads out into lakes, so that when the country happens to be flat and destitute of elevations the opposite shores cannot be seen from each other. The *Indus* presents also, he says, similar characteristics. The *Hydrates*, flowing from the dominions of the *Cambistholi*, falls into the *Acesines* after receiving the *Hyphasis* in its passage through the *Astrybæ*, as well as the *Saranges* from the *Cecians*, and the *Neudrus* from the *Attaceni*. The *Hydaspes*, again, rising in the dominions of the *Oxydracæ*, and bringing with it the *Sinarus*, received in the dominion of the *Arispæ*, falls itself into the *Acesines*, while the *Acesines* joins the *Indus* in the dominions of the *Malli*, but not until it has received the waters of a great tributary, the *Toutapæ*. Augmented

by all these confluentes the Acesines succeeds in imposing its name on the combined waters, and still retains it till it unites with the Indus. The Cophen, too, falls into the Indus, rising in Pencelaitis, and bringing with it the Malantus, and the Soastus, and the Garrois. Higher up than these, the Parenus and Sappenus, at no great distance from each other, empty themselves into the Indus, as does also the Soanus, which comes without a tributary from the hill-country of the Abissareans. According to Megasthenes most of these rivers are navigable. We ought not, therefore, to distrust what we are told regarding the Indus and the Ganges, that they are beyond comparison greater than the Danube and the Nile. In the case of the Nile we know that it does not receive any tributary, but that, on the contrary, in its passage through Egypt its waters are drawn off to fill the canals. As for the Danube, it is but an insignificant stream at its sources, and though it no doubt receives many confluentes, still these are neither equal in number to the confluentes of the Indus and Ganges, nor are they navigable like them, if we except a very few,—as, for instance, the Inn, and Save which I have myself seen. The Inn joins the Danube where the Noricans march with the Rhætians, and the Save in the dominions of the Pannonians, at a place which is called Taurunum. Some one may

perhaps know other navigable tributaries of the Danube, but the number certainly cannot be great.

V. Now if anyone wishes to state a reason to account for the number and magnitude of the Indian rivers let him state it. As for myself I have written on this point, as on others, from hearsay; for Megasthenes has given the names even of other rivers which beyond both the Ganges and the Indus pour their waters into the Eastern Ocean and the outer basin of the Southern Ocean, so that he asserts that there are eight-and-fifty Indian rivers which are all of them navigable. But even Megasthenes, so far as appears, did not travel over much of India, though no doubt he saw more of it than those who came with Alexander the son of Philip: for, as he tells us, he resided at the court of Sandracottus, the greatest king in India, and also at the court of Porus, who was still greater than he.\* Well, then, this same Megasthenes informs us that the Indians neither invade other men, nor do other men invade the Indians; for Sesostris the Egyptian, after having overrun the greater part of Asia, and advanced with his army as far as Europe, returned home; and Idanthyrsus the Scythian,

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\* The original manuscript has: "having seen the Indian king Sandracottus, who was a greater king than his contemporaries—καὶ Πόρον, a greater king even than Porus."

issuing from Scythia, subdued many nations of Asia, and carried his victorious arms even to the borders of Egypt; and Semiramis, again, the Assyrian queen, took in hand an expedition against India, but died before she could execute her design: and thus Alexander was the only conqueror who actually invaded the country. And regarding Dionysus many traditions are current how he also made an expedition into India, and subjugated the Indians before the days of Alexander. But of Hercules tradition has but little to say. Of the expedition, however, which Bacchus led, the city of Nysa is no mean monument, while Mount Meros is yet another, and the ivy which grows thereon, and the practice observed by the Indians themselves of marching to battle with drums and cymbals, and of wearing a spotted dress such as was worn by the Bacchanals of Dionysus. On the other hand, there are but few memorials of Hercules, and it may be doubted whether even these are genuine: for the assertion that Hercules was not able to take the rock Aornus, which Alexander seized by force of arms, seems to me all a Macedonian vaunt, quite of a piece with their calling Parapamissus—Caucasus, though it had no connexion at all with Caucasus. In the same spirit, when they noticed a cave in the dominions of the Parapamisade, they asserted that it was the cave of Prometheus the Titan, in which he had been sus-

Sibæ  
p. 16

pended for stealing the fire. So also when they came among the Sibæ, an Indian tribe, and noticed that they wore skins, they declared that the Sibæ were descended from those who belonged to the expedition of Hercules and had been left behind : for, besides being dressed in skins, the Sibæ carry a cudgel, and brand on the backs of their oxen the representation of a club, wherein the Macedonians recognized a memorial of the club of Hercules. But if anyone believes all this, then this must be another Hercules, for he can neither be the Theban Hercules, nor the Tyrian, nor the Egyptian, nor even any great king\* who belonged to the upper country which lies not far from India.

VI. Let me here digress to show that the accounts seem to be incredible which some other writers have given regarding the Indians beyond the Hyphasis, for the information about India up to the Hyphasis given by those who were in Alexander's expedition is not to be altogether distrusted : Megasthenes, for instance, tell us this wonderful story about an Indian river :—that the name of it is the Silas ; that it flows from a fountain called after the river through the dominions of the Silæans, who again are called after the river and the fountain ; that the water of the river manifests this singular property—that there is nothing which it can

\* The words would bear another rendering—" or possibly he may be some great king."

buoy up, nor anything which can swim or float in it, but everything sinks down to the bottom, so that there is nothing in the world so thin and unsubstantial as this water. But *to proceed*. Rain falls in India during the summer, especially on the mountains Parapamisus and Modus and the range of Imaus, and the rivers which issue from these are large and muddy. Rain during the same season falls also on the plains of India, so that much of the country is submerged: and indeed the army of Alexander was obliged at the time of midsummer to retreat in haste from the Acesines, because its waters overflowed the adjacent plains. So we may by analogy infer from these facts that as the Nile is subject to similar inundations, it is probable that rain falls during the summer on the mountains of *A*ethiopia, and that the Nile swollen with these rains overflows its banks and inundates Egypt. We find, at any rate, that this river, like those we have mentioned, flows at the same season of the year as they, with a muddy current, which could not be the case if it flowed from melting snows, nor yet if its waters were driven back from its mouth by the force of the Etesian winds which blow throughout the hot season,\* and that it should flow from melting snow is all the more unlikely as snow cannot fall upon the

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\* Cf. Herodotus, II. 20-27.

Ethiopian mountains, on account of the burning heat; but that rain should fall on them, as on the Indian mountains, is not beyond probability, since India in other respects besides is not unlike *Aethiopia*. Thus the Indian rivers, like the Nile in *Aethiopia* and Egypt, breed crocodiles, while some of them have fish and monstrous creatures such as are found in the Nile, with the exception only of the hippopotamus, though *Onesicritus* asserts that they breed this animal also. With regard to the inhabitants, there is no great difference in type of figure between the Indians and the *Aethiopians*, though, to be sure, the Indians who live in the south-west bear a somewhat closer resemblance to the *Aethiopians*, being of black complexion and black-haired, though they have not the nose so flat nor the hair so curly; while the Indians who live further to the north are in person like the Egyptians.

✓ **VII.** The Indian tribes, Megasthenes tells us, number in all 118. And I so far agree with him as to allow that they must be indeed numerous, but when he gives such a precise estimate I am at a loss to conjecture how he arrived at it, for the greater part of India he did not visit, nor is mutual intercourse maintained between all the tribes. He tells us further that the Indians were in old times nomadic, like those Scythians who did not till the soil, but roamed about in their wagons, as the seasons

varied, from one part of Scythia to another, neither dwelling in towns nor worshipping in temples; and that the Indians likewise had built neither towns nor temples of the gods, but were so barbarous that they wore the skins of such wild animals as they could kill, and subsisted on the bark of trees; that these trees were called in Indian speech *tala*, and that there grew on them, as there grows at the tops of the palm-trees, a fruit resembling balls of wool; that they subsisted also on such wild animals as they could catch, eating the flesh raw,—before, at least, the coming of Dionysus into India. That Dionysus, however, when he came and had conquered the people, founded cities and gave laws to these cities, and introduced the use of wine among the Indians, as he had done among the Greeks, and taught them to sow the land, himself supplying seeds for the purpose,—either because Triptolemus, when he was sent by Demeter to sow all the earth, did not reach these parts, or this must have been some Dionysus who came to India before Triptolemus, and gave the people the seeds of plants brought under cultivation. It is also said that Dionysus first yoked oxen to the plough, and made many of the Indians husbandmen instead of nomads, and furnished them with the implements of agriculture; and that the Indians worship the other gods, and Dionysus himself in particular, with cymbals and drums, because he so taught them;

and that he also taught them the Satyric dance, or, as the Greeks call it, the *cordax*; and that he instructed the Indians to let their hair grow long in honour of the god, and to wear the turban; and that he taught them to anoint themselves with unguents: so that even up to the time of Alexander the Indians were marshalled for battle to the sound of cymbals and drums.

VIII. But when he was leaving India, after having established the new order of things, he appointed, it is said, Spatembas, one of his companions and the most zealous of his imitators,\* to be the king of the country, and that when Spatembas died his son Boundyas succeeded to the sovereignty; that the father reigned over the Indians fifty-two years, and the son twenty; that the son of the latter, whose name was Cradouas, duly inherited the kingdom, and that thereafter the succession was generally hereditary, but that when a failure of heirs occurred in the royal house the Indians elected their sovereigns on the principle of merit; but that Hercules, who is currently reported to have come as a stranger into the country, is said to have been in reality a native of India; that this Hercules is held in especial honour by the Sourasoni, an Indian tribe possessing two large cities, Methora and Cleisobora, while a navigable river called the Iobares flows through their country. But the dress which

\* Or 'the most conversant with Bacchic matters.'

this Hercules wore, Megasthenes tells us, resembled that of the Theban Hercules, as the Indians themselves admit. It is further said that he had a very numerous progeny of male children born to him in India (for, like his Theban namesake, he married many wives), but that he had only one daughter; that the name of this child was Pandaea, and that the land in which she was born, and with the sovereignty of which Hercules entrusted her, was called after her, Pandaea, and that she received from the hands of her father 500 elephants, a force of cavalry 4000 strong, and another of infantry consisting of about 130,000 men. Some Indian writers say further of Hercules that when he was going over the world and ridding land and sea of whatever evil monsters infested them, he found in the sea an ornament for women, which even to this day the Indian traders who bring their wares to our markets eagerly buy up as such and carry away, while it is even more greedily bought up by the wealthy Romans of to-day, as it was wont to be by the wealthy Greeks long ago. This article is the sea-pearl, called in the Indian tongue *margarita*. But Hercules, it is said, appreciating its beauty as a wearing ornament, caused it to be brought from all the sea into India, that he might adorn with it the person of his daughter. <sup>markha</sup> x

Megasthenes informs us that the oyster which yields this pearl is there fished for with nets,

and that in the same place the oysters live in the sea in shoals like bee-swarms: for oysters, like bees, have a king or a queen, and if any one is lucky enough to catch the king he readily encloses in the net all the rest of the shoal, but if the king makes his escape there is no chance that the others can be caught. The fishermen allow the fleshy parts of such as they catch to rot away, and keep the bone, which forms the ornament for the pearl in India is worth thrice its weight in refined gold, which is a metal Indian mines produce. \*

IX. Now in that part of the country where the daughter of Hercules reigned as queen, it is said that the women when seven years old are of marriageable age, and that the men live at most forty years, and that on this subject there is a tradition current among the Indians to the effect that Hercules, whose daughter was born to him late in life, when he saw that his end was near, and he knew no man of equal rank with himself to whom he could give her in marriage, had incestuous intercourse with the girl when she was seven years of age, in order that a race of kings sprung from their common blood might be left to rule over India; that Hercules therefore made her of suitable age for marriage, and that in consequence the whole nation over which Pandava reigned obtained this same privilege from her father. Now to me it seems that, even if Hercules could have done

Early  
marriage

things so marvellous, he must also have made himself longer-lived, in order to have intercourse with his daughter when she was of mature age. But in fact, if the age at which the women there are marriageable is correctly stated, this is quite consistent, it seems to me, with what is said of the men's age,—that those who live longest die at forty; for where men so much sooner become old and die, it must needs be that they attain their prime sooner, the sooner their career of life is to end. It follows hence that men would there at the age of thirty be turning old, and young men would at twenty be past the season of puberty, while the stage of full puberty would be reached about fifteen. And, quite compatibly with this, the women might be marriageable at the age of seven. And why not, when Megasthenes declares that the very fruits of the country ripen faster than fruits elsewhere, and decay faster?

✓ From the time of Dionysus to Sandracottus the Indians counted 153 kings and a period of 6042 years, but among these a republic was thrice established \* \* \* \* and another to 300 years, and another to 120 years. The Indians also tell us that Dionysus was earlier than Hercules by fifteen generations, and that except him no one made a hostile invasion of India,—not even Cyrus the son of Cambyses, although he undertook an expedition against the Scythians, and otherwise showed

himself the most enterprising monarch in all Asia; but that Alexander indeed came and overthrew in war all whom he attacked, and would even have conquered the whole world had his army been willing *to follow him*. On the other hand, a sense of justice, they say, prevented any Indian king from attempting conquest beyond the limits of India. x

X. It is further said that the Indians do not rear monuments to the dead, but consider the virtues which men have displayed in life, and the songs in which their praises are celebrated, sufficient to preserve their memory after death. ✓ But of their cities it is said that the number is so great that it cannot be stated with precision, but that such cities as are situated on the banks of rivers or on the sea-coast are built of wood instead of brick, being meant to last only for a time,—so destructive are the heavy rains which pour down, and the rivers also when they overflow their banks and inundate the plains,—while those cities which stand on commanding situations and lofty eminences are built of brick and mud; that the greatest city in India is that which is called Palimbothra, in the dominions of the Prasians, where the streams of the Erannoobas and the Ganges unite,—the Ganges being the greatest of all rivers, and the Erannoobas being perhaps the third largest of Indian rivers, though greater than the greatest rivers elsewhere; but it is smaller than the

Ganges where it falls into it. Megasthenes informs us that this city stretched in the inhabited quarters to an extreme length on each side of eighty stadia, and that its breadth was fifteen stadia, and that a ditch encompassed it all round, which was six hundred feet in breadth and thirty cubits in depth, and that the wall was crowned with 570 towers and had four-and-sixty gates. x The same writer tells us further this remarkable fact about India, that all the Indians are free, and not one of them is a slave. The Lacedæmonians and the Indians are here so far in harmony. The Lacedæmonians, however, hold the Helots as slaves, and these Helots do servile labour; but the Indians do not even use aliens as slaves, and much less a countryman of their own.

XI. But further: in India the whole people is divided into about seven castes. Among these are the Sages, who are not so numerous as the others, but hold the supreme place of dignity and honour,—for they are under no necessity of doing any bodily labour at all, or of contributing from the produce of their labour anything to the common stock, nor indeed is any duty absolutely binding on them except to perform the sacrifices offered to the gods on behalf of the state. If anyone, again, has a private sacrifice to offer, one of these sages shows him the proper mode, as if he could not otherwise make an acceptable offering to the gods. To

cont.

Sacrifices

those sages the knowledge of divination among the Indians is exclusively restricted, and none but a sage is allowed to practise that art. They predict about such matters as the seasons of the year, and any calamity which may befall the state; but the private fortunes of individuals they do not care to predict,—either because divination does not concern itself with trifling matters, or because to take any trouble about such is deemed unbecoming. But if anyone fails thrice to predict truly, he incurs, it is said, no further penalty than being obliged to be silent for the future, and there is no power on earth able to compel that man to speak who has once been condemned to silence. These sages go naked, living during winter in the open air to enjoy the sunshine, and during summer, when the heat is too powerful, in meadows and low grounds under trees of such vast size that, as *Nearchus* tells us, the shadow which but one of them casts, has a circumference of five hundred feet, and is capable of sheltering ten thousand men. They live upon the fruits which each season produces, and on the bark of trees,—the bark being no less sweet and nutritious than the fruit of the date-palm.

After these, the second casto consists of the tillers of the soil, who form the most numerous class of the population. They are neither furnished with arms, nor have any military duties to perform, but they cultivate the soil and

pay tribute to the kings and the independent cities. In times of civil war the soldiers are debarred by use and wont from molesting the husbandmen or ravaging their lands: so that while the former are fighting and killing each other as they can, the latter may be seen close at hand tranquilly pursuing their work,—perhaps ploughing, or gathering in their crops, pruning the trees, or reaping the harvest.

The third caste among the Indians consists of the herdsmen, both shepherds and neat-herds; and these neither live in cities nor in villages, but they are nomadic and live on the hills. They also are subject to tribute, which they pay in cattle. It may be added that they scour the country in pursuit of fowl and wild beasts.

XII. The fourth caste consists of hand-craftsmen and retail-dealers. These have to perform gratuitously certain public services, and to pay tribute from the products of their labour. An exception, however, is made in favour of those who fabricate the weapons of war,—and not only so, but they even draw pay from the state. In this class are included shipbuilders, and the sailors employed in the navigation of the rivers.

The fifth caste among the Indians consists of the warriors, who are second in point of numbers to the husbandmen, but lead a life of supreme freedom and jollity. They have military duties, and these only, to perform. Others

caste

chariots

Mention of  
position

make their arms, and others supply them with horses, and they have others to attend on them in the camp, who take care of their horses, clean their arms, drive their elephants, prepare their chariots, and act as their charioteers. But they fight as long as there is need to fight, and when peace returns they abandon themselves to enjoyment,—the pay which they receive from the state being so liberal that they can maintain not only themselves, but others also, and that with ease.

The sixth class consists of those called superintendents. They oversee what goes on in country and town, and report everything to the king where the people have a king; and to the magistrates where the people are self-governed, and it is against use and wont for these to give in a false report;—but indeed no Indian is accused of lying.

The seventh caste consists of the councillors of state, who advise the king, or the magistrates of self-governed cities, in the management of public affairs. In point of numbers this is a small class, but it is distinguished by superior wisdom and justice, and hence enjoys the prerogative of choosing governors, chiefs of provinces, deputy-governors, superintendents of the treasury, generals of the army, admirals of the navy, controllers, and commissioners who superintend agriculture.

The custom of the country prohibits inter-

Judges

marriage between the castes:—for instance, the husbandman cannot take a wife from the artizan caste, nor the artizan a wife from the husbandman caste. Custom also prohibits any one from exercising two trades, or from changing from one caste to another. One cannot, for instance, become a husbandman if he is a herdsman, or become a herdsman if he is an artizan. It is permitted that the sage, and the sage alone, be from any caste: for the life of the sage is not an easy one, but the most miserable of all. X

XIII. The Indians hunt all wild animals in the same way as the Greeks, except the elephant, which is hunted in a mode altogether peculiar, since these animals are not like any other animals. The mode may be thus described:—The hunters having selected a level tract of arid ground, dig a trench all round, enclosing as much space as would suffice to encamp a large army. They make the trench with a breadth of five fathoms and a depth of four. But the earth which they throw out in the process of digging they heap up in mounds on both edges of the trench, and use it as a wall. Then they make huts for themselves by excavating the wall on the outer edge of the trench, and in these they leave loopholes, both to admit light, and to enable them to see when their prey approaches and enters the enclosure. They then station within the trap some three or four of their best-trained she-elephants, and leave

only a single passage to it by means of a bridge which they throw across the trench, and the framework of this they cover over with earth and a great quantity of straw, to conceal the bridge as much as possible from the wild animals, which might else suspect treachery. The hunters then go out of the way, and retire to the cells which they had made in the earthen wall. Now the wild elephants do not in the day-time go near inhabited places, but in the night-time they wander about everywhere, and feed in herds, following as leader the one who is biggest and boldest, just as cows follow bulls. As soon, then, as they approach the enclosure, on hearing the cry of the females and catching scent of them they rush at full speed in the direction of the fenced ground, and being arrested by the trench they move round its edge until they fall in with the bridge, along which they force their way into the enclosure. The hunters meanwhile, perceiving the entrance of the wild elephants, hasten, some of them, to take away the bridge, while others, running off to the nearest villages, announced that the elephants are within the trap. The villagers, on hearing the news, mount their most spirited and best-trained elephants, and as soon as mounted ride off to the trap ; but though they ride up to it they do not immediately engage in a conflict with the wild elephants, but wait till they are sorely pinched by hunger and tormented by thirst ;

but when they think they have been reduced to feebleness, then they set up the bridge anew and ride into the trap, when a fierce assault is in the first place made by the tame elephants upon those caught in the trap ; then, as might be expected, the wild elephants, through loss of spirit and faintness from hunger, are overpowered. On this the hunters, dismounting from their elephants, bind with fetters the ends of the feet of the wild ones, which are by this time quite exhausted. Then they instigate the tame ones to chastise them with repeated blows, until, worn out with their sufferings, they fall to the ground. The hunters meanwhile, standing near them, slip nooses over their necks and mount them while they are yet lying on the ground ; and, in order to prevent them shaking off their riders, or doing mischief otherwise, they make an incision all round their neck with a sharp knife and fasten the noose round in the incision, so that they keep their head and neck quite steady by means of the wound, for if they become restive and turn round, the wound is galled by the action of the rope. Thus they shun all violent movements, and, knowing that they have been vanquished, are now led in fetters by the tame ones.

XIV. But such as are feeble, or through viciousness not worth keeping, their captors allow to escape to their old haunts ; while those which they retain they lead to the villages, where at

first they give them green stalks of corn and grass to eat. The creatures, however, having lost all spirit, have no wish to eat; but the Indians, standing round them in a circle, soothe and cheer them by chanting songs to the accompaniment of the music of drums and cymbals, for the elephant is of all brutes the most intelligent. Some of them, for instance, have been known when their riders were slain in battle to have taken them up and carried them away for burial; others have covered them, when lying on the ground, with a shield; and others have borne the brunt of battle in their defence when fallen. There was one even that died of remorse and despair because it had killed its rider in a fit of rage. I have myself actually seen an elephant playing on cymbals, while other elephants were dancing to his strains: a cymbal had been attached to each foreleg of the performer, and a third to what is called his trunk, and while he beat in turn the cymbal on his trunk, he beat in proper time those on his two legs. The dancing elephants all the while kept dancing in a circle, and as they raised and curved their forelegs in turn they too moved in proper time, following as the musician led.

The elephant, like the bull and the horse, engenders in spring, when the females emit breath through the spiracles beside their temples, which open at that season. The period of gestation is at shortest sixteen months, and

never exceeds eighteen. The birth is single, as in the case of the mare, and is suckled till it reaches its eighth year. The elephants that live longest attain an age of two hundred years, but many of them die prematurely of disease. If they die of sheer old age, however, the term of life is what has been stated. Diseases of their eyes are cured by pouring cows' milk into them, and other distempers by administering draughts of black wine; while their wounds are cured by the application of roasted pork. Such are the remedies used by the Indians.

XV. But the tiger the Indians regard as a much more powerful animal than the elephant. *Nearchus* tells us that he had seen the skin of a tiger, though the tiger itself he had not seen. The Indians, however, informed him that the tiger equals in size the largest horse, but that for swiftness and strength no other animal can be compared with it: for that the tiger, when it encounters the elephant, leaps up upon the head of the elephant and strangles it with ease; but that those animals which we ourselves see and call tigers are but jackals with spotted skins and larger than other jackals. In the same way with regard to ants also, *Nearchus* says that he had not himself seen a specimen of the sort which other writers declared to exist in India, though he had seen many skins of them which had been brought into the Macedonian camp. But *Megasthe-*

nes avers that the tradition about the ants is strictly true,—that they are gold-diggers, not for the sake of the gold itself, but because by instinct they burrow holes in the earth to lie in, just as the tiny ants of our own country dig little holes for themselves, only those in India being larger than foxes make their burrows proportionately larger. But the ground is impregnated with gold, and the Indians thence obtain their gold. Now Megasthenes writes what he had heard from hearsay, and as I have no exacter information to give I willingly dismiss the subject of the ant.\* But about parrots *Nearchus* writes as if they were a new curiosity, and tells us that they are indigenous to India, and what like they are, and that they speak with a human voice; but for my part, since I have myself seen many parrots, and know others who are acquainted with the bird, I will accordingly say nothing about it as if it were still unfamiliar. Nor will I say aught of the apes, either touching their size, or the beauty which distinguishes them in India, or the mode in which they are hunted, for I should only be stating what is well known, except perhaps the fact that they are beautiful. Regarding snakes, too, *Nearchus* tells us that they are caught in the country, being spotted, and nimble in their movements, and that one which *Peitho* the

\* Cf. Herod. III. 102, and *Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. (August 1875) p. 225.

son of Antigenes caught measured about sixteen cubits, though the Indians allege that the largest snakes are much larger. But no cure of the bite of the Indian snake has been found out by any of the Greek physicians, though the Indians, it is certain, can cure those who have been bitten. And Nearchus adds this, that Alexander had all the most skilful of the Indians in the healing art collected around him, and had caused proclamation to be made throughout the camp that if anyone were bitten he should repair to the royal tent; but these very same men were able to cure other diseases and pains also. But with many bodily pains the Indians are not afflicted, because in their country the seasons are genial. But in the case of an attack of severe pain they consult the *sages*, and these seemed to cure whatever diseases could be cured not without divine help.

XVI. The dress worn by the Indians is made of cotton, as Nearchus tells us,—cotton produced from those trees of which mention has already been made. But this cotton is either of a brighter white colour than any cotton found elsewhere, or the darkness of the Indian complexion makes their apparel look so much the whiter. They wear an under-garment of cotton which reaches below the knee halfway down to the ankles, and also an upper garment which they throw partly over their shoulders, and partly twist in folds round their head.

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The Indians wear also earrings of ivory, but only such of them do this as are very wealthy, for all Indians do not wear them. Their beards, *Nearchus* tells us, they dye of one hue and another, according to taste. Some dye their white beards to make them look as white as possible, but others dye them blue; while some again prefer a red tint, some a purple, and others a rank green. Such Indians, he also says, as are thought anything of, use parasols as a screen from the heat. They wear shoes made of white leather, and these are elaborately trimmed, while the soles are variegated, and made of great thickness, to make the wearer seem so much the taller.

I proceed now to describe the mode in which the Indians equip themselves for war, premising that it is not to be regarded as the only one in vogue. The foot-soldiers carry a bow made of equal length with the man who bears it. This they rest upon the ground, and pressing against it with their left foot thus discharge the arrow, having drawn the string far backwards: for the shaft they use is little short of being three yards long, and there is nothing which can resist an Indian archer's shot,—neither shield nor breast-plate, nor any stronger defence if such there be. In their left hand they carry bucklers made of undressed ox-hide, which are not so broad as those who carry them, but are about as long. Some are equipped with javelins

instead of bows, but all wear a sword, which is broad in the blade, but not longer than three cubits; and this, when they engage in close fight (which they do with reluctance), they wield with both hands, to fetch down a lustier blow. The horsemen are equipped with two lances like the lances called *sauvia*, and with a shorter buckler than that carried by the foot-soldiers. But they do not put saddles on their horses, nor do they curb them with bits like the bits in use among the Greeks or the Celts, but they fit on round the extremity of the horse's mouth a circular piece of stitched raw ox-hide studded with pricks of iron or brass pointing inwards, but not very sharp: if a man is rich he uses pricks made of ivory. Within the horse's mouth is put an iron prong like a skewer, to which the reins are attached. When the rider then pulls the reins, the prong controls the horse, and the pricks which are attached to this prong goad the mouth, so that it cannot but obey the reins.

✓ XVII. The Indians are in person slender and tall, and of much lighter weight than other men. The animals used by the common sort for riding on are camels and horses and asses, while the wealthy use elephants,—for it is the elephant which in India carries royalty. The conveyance which ranks next in honour is the chariot and four; the camel ranks third, while to be drawn by a single horse is considered no distinction at

all.\* But Indian women, if possessed of uncommon discretion, would not stray from virtue for any reward short of an elephant, but on receiving this a lady lets the giver enjoy her person. Nor do the Indians consider it any disgrace to a woman to grant her favours for an elephant, but it is rather regarded as a high compliment to the ladies that their charms should be deemed worth an elephant. They marry without either giving or taking dowries, but the women, as soon as they are marriageable, are brought forward by their fathers and exposed in public, to be selected by the victor in wrestling or boxing or running, or by some one who excels in any other manly exercise. The people of India live upon grain, and are tillers of the soil; but we must except the hillmen, who eat the flesh of beasts of chase. x

It is sufficient for me to have set forth these facts regarding the Indians, which, as the best known, both *Neearchus* and *Megasthenes*, two men of approved character, have recorded. And since my design in drawing up the present narrative was not to describe the manners and customs of the Indians, but to relate how Alexander conveyed his army from India to Persia, let this be taken as a mere episode.

XVIII. Alexander, then, as soon as the fleet had been built for him upon the banks of the

\* Or perhaps "is considered a disgrace."

Hydaspes, having selected all the Phœnicians and all the Cyprians or Egyptians who had followed him in the previous part of the expedition, manned the ships with them, and chose the hands that were skilled in seamanship to be sailors and rowers. There were also islanders not a few in the squadron who had been bred to a seafaring life, together with men from Ionia and the Hellespont. The following officers were appointed to the command of triremes in this fleet:—

Hephæstion, the son of Amyntor; Leonnatus, the son of Anteas; Lysimachus, the son of Agathocles; Asclepiodorus, the son of Timander; Archon, the son of Clinias; Demonicus, the son of Athenæus; Archias, the son of Anaxidotus; Ophelas, the son of Silenus; and Timanthes, the son of Pantiades. These all belonged to Pella.

From Amphipolis came—Nearchus, the son of Androtimus, who wrote a narrative of the voyage; Laomedon, the son of Larichus; and Androsthenes, the son of Callistratus.

From Orestis came—Craterus, the son of Alexander; and Perdiccas, the son of Orontes.

From Eordæa came—Ptolemæus, the son of Lagus; and Aristonous, the son of Pisæus.

From Pydna came—Metron the son of Epi-charmus; and Nicarchides, the son of Simus.

There were in addition to these—Attalus the son of Andromenes, from Tymphæa; Peucestas, the son of Alexander, from Mieza; Peithon,

the son of Crateuas, from Alcomenæ; Leonnatus, the son of Antipater, from *Ægæ*; Pantæchus, the son of Nicolaus, from Alorus; and Mylæas, the son of Zoilus, from Berœa.—These were all of them Macedonians.

The following commanders were Greeks:—Medius, the son of Oxythemis, from Larissa; Eumenes, the son of Hieronymus, from Candia; Critobulus, the son of Plato, from Cos; Thoas, the son of Menodorus, from Magnes; Maeander, the son of Mandrogenes, also from Magnes; and Andron, the son of Cabolas, from Teos.

There were two commanders besides from Cyprus—Nicocleës, the son of Pasicles of Soli; and Nithaphon, the son of Pnthagoras, of Salamis.

There was also one Persian commander—Bagoas, the son of Pharnouchas.

The pilot of the ship which carried Alexander himself was Onesicritus, an Astypalæan, and the general secretary of the expedition was Euagoras, the son of Euoleon, a Corinthian, while Nearchus, the son of Androtimus, was appointed admiral of the whole fleet. He was by descent a Cretan, but settled in Amphipolis, which is on the river Strymon. And when all these arrangements had been made by Alexander, he sacrificed to the gods of his country, and those to whom the oracle had directed him to sacrifice, and to Poseidon and Amphitrite, and the Nereids, and Oceanus himself; and to the

river Hydaspes, from which he was setting forth on his enterprise; and to the Acesines, <sup>fully</sup> into which the Hydaspes pours its waters; and to the Indus, which receives the waters of both; and he also gave an entertainment at which prizes for skill in music and gymnastics were contended for, and a distribution was made, to all the divisions of the troops, of the victims sacrificed on the occasion.

XIX. But when every preparation had been made for departing, Alexander ordered Craterus, with a force consisting of horse and foot, to go to the one side of the Hydaspes; while Hephaestion, in command of a still larger force, marched in a parallel line on the other side. Hephaestion took with him the elephants also, which were two hundred in number. Alexander himself took under his immediate command the body of footguards called the hypaspists and all the archers, and those called the companion-cavalry,—a force consisting in all of 8,000 men. Orders had been given to the troops under Craterus and Hephaestion prescribing where, after marching in advance of the fleet, they were to wait its arrival. And Philip, whom he had appointed Satrap of this part of the country, he despatches to the banks of the Acesines, sending with him also a numerous force; for by this time 120,000 fighting men followed his banner, including those whom he had led up from the sea into the interior, and

also the recruits who from time to time were sent to his levies when he began to receive all sorts of barbaric tribes, however diversely armed. Then he weighed anchor and sailed down the Hydaspes as far as to its junction with the Acesines. Now the ships numbered altogether 1800, including the long narrow ships of war, the round-shaped roomy merchantmen, and the transports for carrying horses and provisions to feed the army. But how the fleet sailed down the rivers, and what tribes Alexander conquered in the course of the voyage, and how he was in jeopardy among the Malli, and how he was wounded in their dominions, and how Peucestas and Leonnatus protected him with their shields when he fell,—all these incidents have been recorded by me in the separate narrative written in the Attic dialect. My present object is, therefore, but to describe the voyage made by Nearchus, with the expedition which sailed under his command, from the mouths of the Indus through the great ocean as far as the Persian Gulf, or, as others call it, the Erythrean Sea.

XX. Now of this voyage the following account has been given by Nearchus. He states that Alexander had a great desire to have all the coast of the sea which extends from India to Persia circumnavigated, but that he hesitated to take the necessary steps, as he reflected on the length of the voyage, and feared lest the

fleet coming, as might happen, to some desolate coast either destitute of harbours or incapable of furnishing adequate supplies, might thus be destroyed, and a great stain attaching itself thereby to his mighty deeds might tarnish all his good fortune ; but that his eagerness to be ever doing something new and marvellous prevailed over all his scruples ; that he was, however, at a loss what officer to choose as not an incompetent hand to execute his designs, and at a loss, too, about the men put on board the fleet,—how, on their being despatched on such an enterprise, he could take away their fear that they were recklessly sent into open peril. Here Nearchus tells us that Alexander consulted with him whom he should select to lead the expedition, and that when Alexander had mentioned one officer after another, rejecting them all, some because they did not show readiness to face danger ; some because they were of a weak, irresolute temper ; some because they were yearning after home,—making this and that objection to each in turn,—he then proffered his own services in these terms :—“ I, then, O king ! undertake to lead the expedition, and, if God but help me, I will conduct the ships in safety, and the men, all the way to Persia, provided of course that the sea is navigable that way, and the task not beyond human capacity.” To this, we are told, Alexander answered, in mere pretence, that he did not wish to expose any one for

whom he had an affection to so much hardship and so much danger, but that Nearchus did not on that account withdraw his offer, but pressed its acceptance with the greater urgency ; that Alexander was, of course, much pleased with the ready devotion of Nearchus, and appointed him to take the chief command of the expedition ; that then, too, the troops destined for the voyage, and the oarsmen, alike were still more cheered in heart, feeling assured that Alexander would not send into palpable danger *such a favourite as Nearchus* unless he was to be restored to him in safety. At the same time the great splendour with which the preparations were conducted, the gallant trim of the ships, and the obvious rivalries between the captains about their oarsmen and their crews, had roused to energy even those who formerly altogether shrunk back, and also inspired them with more salutary hopes of the whole enterprise. And it much helped also, he adds, to give the men good heart, that Alexander himself, taking the ships from both the mouths of the Indus, sailed out into the open main, and slew victims to Poseidon and all the other sea-deities, and presented magnificent gifts to propitiate the sea ; and so the men, trusting to the immeasurable good fortune which had attended all the other projects of Alexander, deemed there was nothing he might not dare, nothing but would to him be feasible.

XXI. Now when the south-west monsoon calmed,—which prevails throughout all the hot season, blowing from the sea towards the land, and rendering navigation in these seas impracticable,—it was then that the expedition started on the voyage in the year when Cephisidorus was Archon at Athens, on the 20th day of the month Boëdromion, according to the Athenian mode of reckoning, but as the Macedonians and the Asiatics reckoned \* \* \* in the 11th year of the reign of Alexander. But Nearchus, before putting to sea, sacrifices to Zeus the saviour, and also, *as Alexander had done*, celebrates a gymnastic contest. Then clearing out of harbour, they come the first day to moorings in the Indus near a great canal; and there they remain for two days. The place was called Stnra, and was distant about 100 stadia from the harbour they had left. Clearing from this on the third day, they sailed on till they came to another canal, 30 stadia further down, in which the water was salt: for the sea, it seems, ran up into it, especially in flood-tides, and its waters at ebb-tides still remained mixed with those of the river. This place was called Cau mara. Sailing thence a distance of 20 stadia down the stream, they reach Cor oë stis, and anchor, being still in the river. After clearing from this, they did not make much way, for a sunken reef revealed its presence at that part of the mouth of the Indus, and the

waves were heard dashing with loud roar upon the beach, which was wild and rugged. They dug, however, a passage five stadia long through the reef where it was found to be soft, and through this steered the ships when the flood-tide came in from the sea. Then by a winding course of 120 stadia they gain Crocal a, a sandy island, where they anchor and remain till next day. Near this place dwells an Indian tribe called the Arabii, whom I have mentioned in my larger narrative, stating that they derive their name from the river Arabis, which flows through their country to the sea, parting them from the Oritæ. On launching from Crocal a they had on their right hand a mountain which the inhabitants called Iros, and on their left a flat island. As this island lay near the mainland shore it helps to form a narrow bay. Having quite cleared this passage they come to moorings in a harbour of great security, which Nearchus, on finding it to be both spacious and otherwise convenient, designates 'Alexander's Haven.' There is an island at the mouth of the harbour, about two stadia off. Its name is Bibacta, but the entire district is called Sangada. That the place makes a harbour is all due to the island, which shelters it by forming a barrier against the sea. Here strong gales blew from seaward for a long time continuously, and Nearchus, fearing lest some of the barbarians might combine with a view to

plunder the camp, fortified his position with a stone wall. Here they had to tarry four-and-twenty days. The soldiers—so Nearchus tells us—fished for mussels and oysters, and what is called the razor-fish, all of these being of extraordinary size as compared with the specimens to be found in our sea. He adds that they were here obliged to drink salt sea-water.

XXII. As soon as the stormy weather was over they again put to sea, and having run fully 60 stadia they drop anchor off a sandy beach, not far from which lay a desert island, and here they anchored in such a position that they were sheltered by this island, the name of which was D o m a c. Water was not procurable on the beach, but the men on going into the interior about 20 stadia found very good water. The voyage was resumed next day towards evening, when they sailed 300 stadia and reached Saranga, where they anchor near the beach, and find water some eight stadia inland from it. Making from this they put into Sacali, a desert place, and anchor there. When again under weigh they sailed through between two cliffs which were so near each other that the blades of the oars grazed the rocks on either side, and then they drop anchor in Moron to bari, having run 300 stadia. The harbour here was roomy, circular in shape, deep and well sheltered, but the entrance to it was narrow.

It was called, in the language of the country, 'Women's Haven,' because a woman had been the first sovereign of the place. But when they were steering between the rocks we have mentioned they encountered heavy waves and a boisterous sea: for indeed it appeared a great feat to have steered their way through between the rocks and got safe beyond them. When they put to sea they sailed on till the next day, having on their left hand an island making a barrier against the sea, and lying so close to the shore that the channel between the shore and the island looked like a canal. The length of this passage was altogether 70 stadia. Thickets of trees grew all along the beach, while the island was well shaded with wood of every description. Towards morning they were clearing the island, having but scanty sea-room, as it was still ebb-tide. After running 120 stadia they drop anchor at the mouth of the river *Arabis*. At its mouth there was a spacious and very fine haven, but the water was not drinkable, for where the *Arabis* discharges itself its waters become mixed with brine. They went therefore about 40 stadia higher up, and came upon a tank from which they supplied themselves with water, and then returned. The island near the harbour is high and bare. All round it oysters and fish of every kind are caught. This place marks the border where the dominions of the *Arabii*, the last people of

Indian descent settled in this direction end, and where those of the Oritæ begin.

XXIII. On sailing away from the mouth of the Arabis they coasted along the shores of the Oritæ, and after making a way of 200 stadia drop anchor at Pagali, near a surf-beaten shore, where, however, a place was found affording good anchorage. Here while one part of the crew was told off to remain on board, another part went on shore to fetch water. Next day they unmoored at dawn, and making 400 stadia drew to shore as evening fell, at Cabana, where they anchor off the beach, which was quite barren. Here there was a heavy surf, and the ships were tossed up and down by great surging billows. In the course of this last voyage the fleet had been caught in a heavy gale which blew from seaward, when two ships of war and one of the light craft were totally lost. All the hands on board, however, saved themselves by swimming, as the vessels at the time of the disaster were closely hugging the shore. They cleared from Cabana about midnight, and sailed on till they gained Cocala, 200 stadia distant from the last port. The ships rode at their moorings off shore, but Nearchus having ordered the crews to disembark allowed them to bivouac on the beach, for as they had suffered much distress at sea they longed for some repose. The camp was fortified for defence against the barbarians. It was in this part of the country

that Leonnatus, whom Alexander had appointed to reduce and govern the Oritæ, overcomes these barbarians, and the neighbouring tribes who helped them, in a great battle, wherein he slew 6,000 of them, and all their leaders. But fifteen of the horsemen who were with Leonnatus, and some of the foot-soldiers, though not very many, were slain. Among the number was *Apollonæs*, the Satrap of the Gedrosians. But all this has been recorded in my other history, and also how Leonnatus for this service was crowned by Alexander with a golden crown in presence of the Macedonians. In this place grain was, by Alexander's orders, distributed to victual the fleet, and sufficient stores were put on board to last for ten days. Here also the ships damaged during the voyage were repaired, while all the sailors that Nearchus considered to be too slack at their work he made over to Leonnatus to be led on foot into Persia ; but at the same time he made good his complement of hands by taking in exchange efficient men from the troops under Leonnatus.

XXIV. From this port they bore away with a fresh breeze, and having run 500 stadia drop anchor near a river much swollen with rain. This river was called the *Tomerus*, and there was an estuary at its mouth. The flats lying near the shore were peopled with men, who lived in close stifling huts. The savages when they saw strangers sailing towards them were

filled with astonishment, and spreading along the beach marshalled themselves as if to repel by force any who should attempt to land. They carried thick spears about six cubits in length—  
which were not tipped with iron heads, but were hardened at the sharp end by being charred, which served the same purpose. The number of the enemy was about 600. Now when Nearchus saw them keeping their ground and arrayed for battle, he ordered the ships to keep riding at anchor within shot of them, so that the arrows discharged from on board might carry to land ; for the spears of the barbarians, which were thick, were evidently adapted for close fight, but not at all formidable if used as missiles. Then he gives orders that such of the soldiers as were lightest and most lightly equipped, and expert in swimming, should swim to shore at a preconcerted signal. Orders were given that when any one had swum so far that he could stand in the water, he was to wait for his next neighbour, and not set forward to attack the barbarians, until a phalanx could be formed of three men deep. That done they were to rush forward shouting the war-cry. Then those who were told off for this service at once threw themselves from the ships into the sea, and swam fast, and stood in order, and forming themselves into a phalanx rushed to the charge with loud shouts ; while those on board shouted in concert and attacked the barbarians, with

arrows and missiles shot from engines. Then the barbarians, terrified by the bright flashing of the arms and the rapidity of the landing, and hit by the arrows and other missiles, since they were half-naked, fled without making the least attempt at resistance. Some perished in the flight, others were taken prisoners, and some escaped to the mountains. Those captured were thickly covered with hair all over the body as well as the head, while their nails resembled the claws of wild beasts, for they were said to use their nails like iron, and to be able to rip up fish with them, and split the softer kinds of wood. Harder things they cut with sharp stones, for they had no iron. As clothing they wore the skins of wild beasts, and some even the thick skins of large fishes.

XXV. After this action they haul the ships to shore, and repair all the damaged ones. On the sixth day they launched again, and sailing 300 stadia reach a place which lay on the furthest confines of the Oritæ, called Malana. Now the Oritæ who dwell in the interior dress like the Indians, and use similar weapons, though they differ from them in language and customs. The length of the voyage along the coast of the Arabii was 1000 stadia, reckoning from the place from which they had started; and the length of the voyage along the coast of the Oritæ was 1600 stadia. Nearchus informs us that the shadows of those

who sail along the Indian coast (for after this Indians are no longer met with) fall differently, for when they happened to sail a great distance southward their shadows were observed to fall to southward also. But when the sun had gained the meridian, nothing was seen to cast any shadow at all. And of those stars which they had seen before high above the horizon, some vanished altogether out of sight, while others—that is those which had always before been visible—seemed to be near the earth, now setting, and, immediately after, rising again.\* And Nearchus here appears to me to be stating what is not unlikely: for at Syene also, which is in Egypt, a well is shown where at the time of the summer solstice no shadow is cast at noon; and in Meroë, too, objects are shadowless at that season of the year. It is therefore likely that similar phenomena occur also among the Indians, as they live to the south, and this would be more especially the case in the Indian Sea the further south it goes. This may be taken as the real truth of the matter.

#### XXVI. Next to the Orites in the interior

\* As Nearchus could not possibly have witnessed this

India lay between the tropics.

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believed that

live the Gedrosians, through whose country Alexander had the greatest difficulty in leading his army, and where his sufferings surpassed all he had experienced in all the rest of his expedition. But all the details concerning this I have set down in my larger work. Below the Gedrosians and along the sea-coast lives a people called the Ichthyophagi. Along their coasts they were now steering. On the first day, about the second watch, they set sail, and put into Bagisara. The distance run was 600 stadia. In the place they found a harbour with good anchorage, and a small town called Pasira, distant 60 stadia from the sea, the people living thereabout being called Pasirians. But unmooring early next morning they double a headland which projected far out into the sea, and was high and precipitous. Here having dug wells and found but a scanty supply of water which was bad, they rode at anchor that day, because there was a high surf along the shore. They thence at morning-tide they made Calybi, after sailing 600 stadia, and there cast anchor. There was a village near the beach, around which grew a few palm-trees, the dates on which were still green. There was an island about 100 stadia off the shore, called Carnine. The villagers, by way of showing their hospitality, bring presents of sheep and fish to Nearchus,

who says that the mutton had a fishy taste, like the flesh of sea-birds : for the sheep fed on fish, there being no grass in the place. Next day, having sailed 200 stadia, they cast anchor near the shore, where there was a village 30 stadia off, named Cissa. The coast was, however, called Carbis. There they find little boats such as might belong to fishermen of scanty means, but the men they did not see, for they had taken to flight on seeing the ships anchoring. There was no grain in the place, and the stock of provisions for the expedition had run short. So they put some goats on board and sailed away. After doubling a steep promontory which projected about 150 stadia into the sea, they drew to land and cast anchor in a well-sheltered haven. They found water in the place, which was inhabited by fishermen. The harbour was called Mosarna.

XXVII. From this place they took on board, Nearchus tells us, as pilot of the fleet, a Gedrosian called Hydraces, who undertook to conduct them as far as Carmania. Thenceforth until they reached the Persian Gulf their course was not difficult, and lay in parts more spoken of. Departing at night from Mosarna they sail 750 stadia, and reach the coast of Balomon. They touched next at Barna, a village which lay at a distance of 400 stadia. Many palm-trees were found there, and a garden wherein grew myrtles and other flowers,

from which wreaths were woven by the villagers. Here for the first time they saw trees under cultivation, and the people somewhat better than mere savages. Leaving this they reach Dendrobosa, by a circuitous course of 200 stadia, and anchor out at sea. They sailed again about midnight, and running about 400 stadia made the haven of Caphas. The inhabitants were fishermen, and the boats they used were small, sorry things. They did not row in the Greek style with oars fixed to the side by means of thole-pins, but, as in a river, with paddles which they thrust into the water, now on this side and then on that, like men digging the ground. There was much water in the haven, and it was quite pure. But about the first watch they bore away from the place, and having run a course of 800 stadia put into Cyzica, where the strand was bare and rugged. They did not, therefore, land, but dined on board ship. They set forth again, and having sailed 500 stadia came to a little town built on a rising ground not far from the beach. And Nearchus having observed that the land bore signs of cultivation, he turns to Archias (the son of Anaxidotus of Pella, who was accompanying Nearchus on the voyage, being a Macedonian of high rank) and says to him that the place must be captured, for the inhabitants, he thought, would not of their own free-will supply the fleet with provisions, while it would not be possible to take

what they required by open force, but a siege would be necessary, which would cause delay, and they were already short of provisions. He added that the land must undoubtedly produce corn, as they could see a luxuriant crop growing not far from the beach. When this proposal was agreed to, he orders all the ships except one to be made ready as if for sailing, and Archias made all the arrangements for this; but he himself being left behind with a single ship went to take, as he pretended, just a look at the town.

XXVIII. But when he approached the walls the inhabitants hospitably brought out to him a present of tunny-fish broiled in pans: for though they were the last of the *Ichthyophagi*, yet they were the first of them they had met who did not eat fish raw; and they brought also little cakes and dates. He told them that he accepted their gifts with much pleasure, but wished to have a look at their town, and they accordingly gave him leave to enter. But when he was within the gates he ordered two of his archers to seize the postern by which they had entered, while he himself, with two others and an interpreter, mounting to the top of the wall, made thence a signal to Archias and his men, for it had been arranged that the one party should make a signal, and the other, on seeing it, execute the given orders. Now the Macedonians, when they saw the signal, at once ran their ships ashore and quickly jumped

into the sea; while the barbarians, alarmed at these movements, ran to arms. The interpreter thereupon who was with Nearchus ordered them to give provisions to the army if they wished to save their town. But they said they had none, and at the same time attacked the wall. But the archers who attended on Nearchus kept them in check by shooting down arrows upon them from above. When they came to know, however, that their town was already occupied, and could in a short time be pillaged, they then entreated Nearchus to take the corn they had, and go off without destroying the town. But Nearchus orders Archias to take possession of the gates and the adjacent parts of the wall, while he himself despatches men to look after the grain, and see whether the people would show it without any attempt at evasion. And they showed a great quantity of flour made by grinding roasted fish, and also a little wheat and barley, for they dined upon fish, to which they added wheaten loaves by way of a relish. But when they showed their stores the soldiers supplied themselves therefrom. They then returned to the ships, put out to sea, and cast anchor near a promontory which the people of the place considered sacred to the Sun, and the name of which was Bagia.

XXIX. They set sail from this place about midnight, and after a voyage of 1000 stadia put into Talmena, where they found a har-

bour with good anchorage. They sailed thence to Canasis, a deserted town 400 stadia off, where they discover an artificial well, and where palms were growing wild. These they cut down, and used the pith as food, since provisions were short in the fleet; and being now sore pinched with hunger they sailed all day and all night, and then drop anchor off a desolate coast. But Nearchus, fearing lest the men, if they landed, would in despair desert the fleet, ordered the ships to be moored at a distance from shore. From this they sailed away and reached Canate, when they anchor, after making 850 stadia. This place has a spacious beach and some small canals. They sailed again, and having made 800 stadia reach Troës, where they anchor. They found in the place some miserable little villages. The inhabitants deserted their huts, and the soldiers found a little food and dates of the palm-tree. Seven camels had been left behind, which they killed for food. Launching again about the dawn of day, they made 300 stadia, and come to anchor at Dagasira. The people thereabouts were nomads. Putting again to sea, they sailed all night and all day without taking any rest. Having thus accomplished a voyage of 1100 stadia, they left behind them the shores of the Ichthyophaigi, where they suffered greatly from the want of necessary food. They did not anchor on the beach, on account of the heavy surf, but rode at anchor out

in deep water. The length of the voyage along the coast of the Ichthyophagi was not much short of 10,000 stadia. These Ichthyophagi subsist on what their name is derived from,—fish. Yet only a few of them fish out in the deep, for boats to do it with are scarce, and the art of fishing is unknown. Generally speaking, they are indebted for their fish to the ebb-tide. To take advantage of it, they make for themselves nets which are mostly two stadia in length. These they weave from the bark of the palm-tree, twisting the fibres like flax. Now when the sea retires from the land, the parts left dry are generally found to be without fish, while the hollows, which of course retain some water, swarm with them. The fish are generally small, though some are of considerable size: these they catch with their nets. The more delicate kinds they eat raw as soon as they are taken out of the water, but the large and coarser kinds they dry in the sun, and when sufficiently dried grind into a sort of flour, from which they make bread. They bake also cakes from this flour. The cattle, as well as the men, eat the dry fish, for there are no meadows in the country, nor grass at all. But in many parts they fish also for crabs and oysters and mussels. Natural salt is found in the land \* \* \* from these they make oil. Some of the tribes inhabit desolate tracts which are so utterly sterile that they bear neither trees nor even wild fruits. These

poor wretches have nothing but fish to live on. A few of them, however, sow some part of their land, and use the produce to eat for zest along with their fish, which forms the staple of their diet. The better classes build houses of whale-bone, which they collect from the carcasses of whales cast ashore, and use instead of wood. The doors are formed of the broadest bones they can find. The poorer members, who form the great majority of the population, construct their houses with the backbones of fish.

XXX. Whales of vast size frequent the outer ocean, and other fish larger than those kinds which are found in the Mediterranean Sea. Nearchus gives this relation: when they were bearing away from Cyiza, the water of the sea was seen one morning about dawn blown up into the air as if forced up by a violent gust of wind; being greatly alarmed, they asked the pilots the nature and cause of this phenomenon, when it was explained that the whales in swimming through the sea spout up the water into the air; on hearing this the rowers, through terror, let the oars drop from their hands, but he himself coming up to the men allayed their fears and reanimated their courage, and then gave orders that the prows of such ships as were sailing near him should be turned towards the point of danger, as in a sea-fight, while the rowers should at the same time raise the battle-cry, and swell the sound by

pulling quick strokes as noisily as possible. The men, thus emboldened, sailed as they were directed, when the signal agreed on was given, and when they were now nearing the monstrous creatures they shouted as loud as they could bawl, and blew the trumpets, and made all the noise they could with the oars in rowing; the whales, accordingly, which were seen near the prows of the ships, being terror-struck, dived down into the abyss, and then soon after rose again to the surface, emerging behind the fleet, all the while spouting up the waters most lustily. There was great exultation among the men at their unexpected deliverance, and Nearchus was praised for his boldness and presence of mind. He adds that whales are sometimes stranded on many parts of the coast where the ebb-tide leaves them in shallow water, preventing their escape; but that some are also forcibly cast out on land by violent storms, and so perish and rot away, till their flesh gradually drops off, and leaves the bones bare, which are applied to building purposes. Their larger ribs make suitable bearing-beams for houses, while the smaller ones serve for rafters; and as for the jaw-bones, doors are made of them, as they are often found so big as to measure five-and-twenty cubits.

XXXI. When they were sailing along the coast of the *Ichthyophagi* they hear a report about an island which is distant from the

mainland about 100 stadia and uninhabited. The people in the parts about said that it was sacred to the Sun and called Nosala, but that no one was willing to go to the island and land on it, and that whoever was unawares carried to it was never more seen. But Nearchus mentions that one small boat belonging to his fleet, manned with an Egyptian crew, disappeared not far from this island, and that the commanding officers theronpon declared that they had disappeared, because they had landed on the island in ignorance of the danger of so doing. Nearchus, however, despatches a galley of thirty oars to sail round the island, ordering the men not to land upon the island, but to sail as close by the shore as they could, and to call out to the men, shouting aloud the name of the steersman or any one else they chanced to remember. Nearchus then tells us that, as no one answered to their call, he sailed to the island and compelled the sailors, much against their will, to land, and that he landed himself, and proved that the story about the island was an empty myth. He states also that he heard another story about the island.—It had been at one time the abode of one of the Nereids, whose name, he says, he could not learn. It was her wont to have intercourse with any man who approached the island, when she changed him from a man to a fish and then cast him into the sea. The Sun, however, being displeased with the Ne-

reid, ordered her to remove from the island, and she agreed to do so, but begged to be cured of her malady, and the Sun granted her request. Thereupon she took pity on the men whom she had changed to fish, and changed them again from fish into men, and from these men the race of the *Ichthyophagi* descended in unbroken succession down to the time of Alexander. Now Nearchus, to my thinking, deserves no credit for expending so much time and talent in proving the falsehood of these stories, which is no hard thing to do, aware as I am what a sorry task it is to select old-world stories for the purpose of refuting them.

XXXII. Beyond the *Ichthyophagi*, in the interior, the *Gedrosians* inhabit a region which is a baleful desert of sand. Here the army of Alexander, and Alexander himself, suffered many hardships, as has been already related in my other narrative. But when the expedition reached the first port in *Carmania*, after leaving the *Ichthyophagi*, they rode at anchor out at sea, when they moored for the first time in *Carmania*; because a violent surf spread along the shore and far out to sea. Thereafter they no longer sailed as before, towards the setting sun, but the prows were pointed rather to the north-west. *Carmania* is better wooded and produces better fruit than the country of the *Ichthyophagi* and the *Ori-*

te, and is more grassy and better supplied with water. They anchor next at Bados, a place in Carmania, with inhabitants, where grew many sorts of cultivated trees, though not the olive, and where also the vine thrrove well and corn was produced. Sailing thence they ran a course of 800 stadia, and anchor off a barren coast, whence they doscry a headland projecting far out into the sea. The extreme point of this seemed to be about a day's sail off. Those who knew these parts said that this cape belonged to Arabia and was called Macea, whence cinnamon and similar products are exported to the Assyrians. And from this coast where the fleet was now riding at anchor, and from the headland which they saw right opposite projecting into the sea, the Gulf (in my opinion, which is also that of Nearchus) extends up into the interior, and is probably the Erythraean Sea. Now when they saw this headland, Onesicritus, *the chief pilot*, advised that they should direct their course towards it, so that they might not be exposed to hardships in making their way along the Gulf; but Nearchus replied that Onesicritus had but little sense if he did not know for what object Alexander had despatched the expedition: for he had not sent it because it would be impossible for him to preserve the army if the whole of it marched by land, but because he wished them to examine the shores which the ships would visit in the course of the voyage,

and the harbours *also*, and the islets, and to sail round the coast of any bay that might be discovered, and to ascertain how many seaport towns there were, and whether any parts were fertile, or any desert. They ought not, therefore, to lose sight of this object, considering that they were now near the end of their toils, and especially that they were no longer ill provided for the voyage. He feared, moreover, since the headland stretched towards the south, lest they should find the country there a mere desert, without water, and scorched with a blazing sun. This argument prevailed, and it appears to me that by this counsel Nearchus saved the expedition, for by all accounts that headland and the regions adjacent are desert and without water.

XXXIII. So then they quitted that shore and kept sailing close to land, and after they had made about 700 stadia they came to anchor on another shore called *Nooptana*, and towards morning they put again to sea, and after sailing 100 stadia anchor at the mouth of the river *Anamis*. The surrounding country was called *Harmozia*. It was a charming place, and bore every product except only the olive. Here they disembarked and gladly reposed from their manifold toils, bethinking them of what they had suffered at sea and on the coasts of the *Ichthyophagi*, and recalling the utter sterility of the region, and how savage

the inhabitants were, and the straits to which they had themselves been reduced. And some of them, leaving the shore, advanced into the interior, straggling from the main body, in search one of this thing and another of that, when lo ! a stranger appeared in view wearing a Grecian mantle and dressed in other respects as a Greek, and who spoke the Greek tongue. Those who met him declared that on first seeing him they actually wept, so strange did it appear to them, after so many sufferings, to see once more a man from Greece, and to hear the speech of Greece. They asked him whence he came, and who he was. He replied that he had straggled from the army of Alexander, and that the army and Alexander himself were not far off. This man they lead with shouts of exultation to the presence of Nearchus, to whom he told everything, and reported that the army and the king were a five days' march distant from the sea. He stated also that he would introduce the governor of the district to Nearchus, and he introduces him accordingly. And Nearchus consults with him how he can go up to meet the king. Then, before setting out, he returned to the fleet, and next morning ordered the ships to be hauled up on the beach, partly that such as were damaged might be repaired, and partly as he thought of leaving here the greater part of his squadron. He therefore fortified the roadstead with a double palisade, and also with a rampart of earth, and

a deep trench extending from the banks of the river to that part of the beach where the ships had been hauled up.

XXXIV. But while Nearchus was making all these arrangements, the governor having learned that Alexander was very anxious about the fate of this expedition, made no doubt that he would receive some great boon from Alexander should he be the first to bring him the news that the fleet was safe, and that Nearchus would soon appear in person before him. Accordingly he rode off by the shortest route, and announces to Alexander that Nearchus is on his way from the ships. Then Alexander, though he doubted the report, naturally enough rejoiced to hear such tidings; but as day after day passed by *without bringing Nearchus*, and Alexander, on comparing the time since the news was brought, no longer thought the tidings credible, while those that were sent out one after another to the rescue of Nearchus, after going a short distance and finding nothing, had returned without news, and those who had gone further and had missed Nearchus and his companions had not yet returned, then Alexander, forsooth, orders the man to be put under arrest, on the ground that he had brought baseless intelligence, and raised joyful hopes only to disappoint them. But Alexander, as his looks evidently showed, was struck to the heart with great sorrow. In the mean time, how-

ever, some of those who had been despatched in search of Nearchus, taking with them horses and wagons for the conveyance of himself and his escort, fall in on the way with him and Archias and five or six others, for he had taken so many to accompany him. And when they met the band they recognized neither Nearchus himself nor Archias, so much changed did they appear: for their hair had grown long, they were filthy, and all over encrusted with brine, shrivelled in body and sallow in complexion from want of sleep and other severe hardships. But when they asked where Alexander was, they replied, giving the name of the place. But Archias, perceiving who they were, says to Nearchus, "I fancy, Nearchus, these men are riding through the desert by the same road as ourselves, for no other reason than that they have been sent in search of us. True, they did not know us, but that does not at all surprise me, for we are such miserable-looking objects that we are past all recognition. Let us tell them who we are, and ask them why they are travelling this way." Nearchus thought there was reason in what he said. So they asked the men whither they were bound. They replied that they were searching for Nearchus and the fleet. Then he said, "Here is your man: I am Nearchus, and this is Archias. But do you be our guides, and we will give Alexander all the news about the expedition."

XXXV. So, having mounted the party on the wagons, they ride back *the way they came*, and some of them, wishing to be beforehand in carrying the tidings, run on before and tell Alexander that the man they sought for—*Nearchus*—and with him *Archias* and five others, are being brought on to him; but about the expedition generally they had no information to give. Alexander, concluding from this that while those who were coming had been in some extraordinary way saved, all the rest of the expedition had perished, did not so much feel joy at the safety of *Nearchus* as he was afflicted to think of the total loss of the expedition. Before all the inquiries had yet been made, both *Nearchus* and *Archias* were seen approaching. But Alexander had great difficulty in recognizing them, and as he saw them long-haired and dressed in miserable rags his grief was the more vehement for his lost fleet. At length, grasping *Nearchus* by the hand and leading him apart both from his attendants and his guards, he gave way to a long fit of weeping. At last after a long time, having recovered himself, he said, “Ah, well! since you have returned to me safe, and *Archias* here along with you, that should be to me some consolation after the loss of all; but tell me now in what manner the ships and the troops on board perished.”—“O king!” he replied, “the ships are safe, and the troops also, and we have come in person

to report their safety." Alexander now wept all the more as the safety of the squadron was unhopecd for, and then inquired where the ships were detained. "They are hauled up," he replied, "for repairs, on the beach of the river *Anamis*." Then Alexander swears by Zeus of the Greeks and Ammon of the Libyans that in all sincerity he rejoices more at these tidings than in being the master of all Asia, since his grief for the loss of the expedition (*had it happened*) would have counterbalanced all his other good fortune.

XXXVI. But the governor, whom Alexander had arrested for bringing idle news, seeing Nearchus present, falls down at his knees and says, "I am the man who announced to Alexander that you had arrived safe. You see how I am situated." Nearchus thereupon entreated Alexander to let the man go, and he is let go accordingly. Then Alexander presents thank-offerings for the safety of the expedition to Zeus the saviour, and Heracles, and Apollo the averter of evil, and Poseidon, and all the other sea-deities, and he celebrated a contest in gymnastics and music, and conducted a solemn procession. A foremost place in the procession was assigned to Nearchus, who was pelted by the army with fillets and flowers. When the king had brought all these demonstrations to an end, he says to Nearchus, "I wish you not, Nearchus, to incur again any risk of

your life, or to be exposed to hardships, and some other officer will conduct the expedition from this to Susa." But Nearchus answered and said, "I wish, O king! in all things to obey you, and it is only my duty; but if you wish to do me any favour, pray do not so, but permit me to lead the expedition all throughout; until I bring your ships safe to Susa. Let it not be that while the difficult and dangerous part of the enterprise has been entrusted to me, the easy part, which fame is now ready to crown, is taken from me and given into the hands of another." Alexander stops him while he is still speaking, and acknowledged the debt of gratitude which he owed him. And so he sends him down to the coast, giving him but a small escort, as one whose road would be through a friendly country. But neither was his march to the sea made without toil and trouble, *any more than the former march*: for the barbarians, having mustered from all the parts around, possessed themselves of all the strongholds in Caramania, which they did because their satrap had been put to death by Alexander's orders, and *T*lepolemus, who had but recently succeeded, had not yet secured his authority. And so they had to fight twice or thrice the same day, with successive bands of barbarians who came suddenly in view. And thus, without any respite from fighting, with pain and difficulty they reached the coast in safety. Nearchus

there and then offers a sacrifice to Zeus the saviour, and celebrates a gymnastic contest.

XXVII. But when the religious ceremonies had been duly performed they put out again to sea, and after coasting along a desolate and rocky island anchor on the shores of another island, a large one with inhabitants, and distant 300 stadia from the last port. The desert island was called *Organa*, and the ~~island~~ and where they anchored *Oäracta*: it produced vines and palm-trees and corn. The length of the island is 800 stadia, and the chief of the island, *Mazenes*, sailed along with them to *Susa*, having volunteered to be pilot of the fleet. In this island they professed to point out the tomb of the very first sovereign of the country, and said that his name was *Erythres*, from whom the sea receiving its name was called the *Erythraean*. Weighing thence they sailed along the shores of the same island and anchor on it again, and desory another island distant from this large one about 40 stadia. It was said to be sacred to *Poseidon* and inaccessible. Nextmorning they were putting out to sea, when the ebb-tide caught them with such violence that three of the ships were stranded on the beach, while the rest of the fleet escaped with difficulty from the surf into deep water. But the stranded vessels were floated off at the return of the tide, and on the second day put into the port where all the other ships had an-

chored. This was in another island, distant from the mainland somewhere about 300 stadia, which they had reached after sailing 400 stadia. They departed thence towards morning, passing a desert island which lay on their left. It was called Pylora, and they drop anchor off Sisidone, which was a mere hamlet, and could supply nothing but water and fish. The people subsisted on fish, for the barrenness of the soil left them no choice of diet. After taking water on board they bore away, and after running 300 stadia anchor at Tarsia, which is a projecting headland. They touch next at Catæa, an island both bare and flat. It was said to be sacred to Hermes and Aphrodite. The distance run was 300 stadia. To this island every year sheep and goats are sent by the neighbouring tribes as sacred offerings to Hermes and Aphrodite, and these were to be seen running about in a wild state,—the effect of time and the barrenness of the land.

XXXVIII. Up to this point they were in Carmania, and the realms beyond belonged to the Persians. The length of the voyage along the Carmanian coast was 3700 stadia. The people live after the manner of the Persians, who are their next neighbours, and their military system is quite similar. Weighing anchor they bore away from this sacred island, and now sailed along the coast of Persis, and first drew to land at a place called Ilæ, where there

is a harbour in a small and desolate island known by the name of Cæcander. The distance run was 400 stadia. Towards morning they reached another island, which proved to be inhabited, and there dropped anchor. Here, as Nearchus tell us, pearls are fished for, just as in the Indian Sea. Having sailed along the extreme part of this island for a distance of about 40 stadia, they anchored upon it. The next place where they cast anchor was near a lofty mountain (called Ochus), in a secure haven. The inhabitants of the place were fishermen. And sailing thence, after running 450 stadia they anchor at Apostana. Many boats were riding there at anchor, and there was a village at a distance of 60 stadia from the sea. Having left this place during the night, they sail into a bay where the shores were studded with numerous villages. The distance they had run was 400 stadia. They moored at the base of a hill where palm-trees grew, and all kinds of fruit-trees which are found in Greece. Launching thence they sail along the coast somewhere about 600 stadia and reach Gogana, an inhabited part, where they anchor at the mouth of a mountain-stream swollen with rain, called Areon. Anchoring there proved a matter of some difficulty, for the passage by which the mouth of the river is entered is a narrow one, the tide at ebb leaving shallows in every direction. They left

this and anchor next at the mouth of another river, after a long run of 800 stadia. The name of the river was *Sitacu.s*. Here also they found it difficult to anchor. Indeed, the whole of this voyage along the coast of *Porsis* was amid shoals and shallows and breakers. There they take on board a large stock of provisions, which had been sent thither by order of the king to victual the fleet. They remained in this place one-and-twenty days in all, and having hauled up on shore such of the ships as had been damaged, they repaired them, and the others they put into proper trim.

XXXIX. Sailing thence they came to *Hiératis*, a place containing inhabitants. The distance they had made was 750 stadia. They anchored in a canal filled with water, which was drawn from a river and flowed into the sea, and which was called *Heratemis*. But at sunrise they sail away and come at length to a mountain-stream called *Padagron*. Here the entire district formed a peninsula. In this there were many gardens wherein grew all manner of fruit-trees. The name of the place was *Mesambria*. But launching from *Mesambria* and making about 200 stadia, they come to anchor at *Taōce*, on the river *Granis*. Inland from this place lay the royal city of the Persians, situated at a distance of 200 stadia from the mouth of the river. *Nearchus* relates that on the way a whale had been seen cast up

on the strand. Some of the sailors rowing up to it took its measure, and reported that it was fifty cubits long, that its skin was armed with scalos about the thickness of a cubit, and that great quantities of shells and sea-weeds were clinging to it. He states also that dolphins were to be seen in great numbers swimming around the whale, which were larger than the dolphins of the Meditorranean Sea. After leaving this they put into the Rogonis, a mountain-stream swollen by rain, where they anchor in an excellent haven. The distance they had sailed was 200 stadia. Having sailed thence and run 400 stadia, they bivouac on the banks of another torrent, which bore the name of Brizana. Here they found difficulty in anchoring, because there were shoals and breakers and sunken rocks which showed their ridges above the surf. They succeeded, however, in anchoring when the tide was full, though the ships were left high and dry when it ebbed again. But with next high-water they sailed out and anchored in the stream. The name of this river was the O roatis, the greatest of all the rivers, as Nearchus tells us, which he found in the course of this voyage falling into the outer ocean.

XL. Up to this point the inhabitants were Persians; beyond it Susians. Beyond the Susians, dwells an independent tribe called the Uxii, whom I have described in my other

narrative as freebooters. The length of the voyage along the shores of Persis was 4400 stadia. According to general report, Persis has three different climates, for that part of it which is formed by the peopled district lying along the Erythraean Sea is sandy and barren on account of the heat; while the part beyond this enjoys a delightful temperature, as the mountains there stretch towards the pole and the north wind, and the region is clothed with verdure and has well-watered meadows, and bears the vine, which is widely cultivated, and all fruits except the olive, while it blooms with all manner of pleasure-gardens and parks, and is traversed by clear streams and studded with lakes, and lake and stream alike are the haunts of aquatic birds in endless variety; and it is also a good country for horses, and affords pastureage to these and other beasts of burden, while it is also everywhere well-wooded, and abounds with wild animals. The part, however, which lies still further to the north is said to be bleak and cold and covered with snow, so that, as Nearchus tells us, certain ambassadors from the Euxine Sea having gone a very little way met Alexander going on to Persis, who was surprised at seeing them, when they explained to him how short the road was. I have already stated that the next neighbours to the Susians are the Uxians; just as the Mardians, who are a

set of robbers, are neighbours to the Persians, and the Cossaeans to the Medes. And all these tribes Alexander subdued, falling upon them in the winter-time, when they considered their dominions were inaccessible; and he founded cities with a view to wean them from roving habits and attract them to the plough and agricultural life, and put rulers over them to deter them from inflicting injuries on each other. The fleet sailed away from the Orotis, and so left behind the dominions of the Susians. The rest of the voyage Nearchus says he cannot describe with such minuteness as before, for he has nothing to record but the names of the havens at which they touched, and the length of the voyage from one of them to another: for the land along the coast was covered with shoal-water and the surf extended far out to sea, rendering it a dangerous matter to seek the shore for anchorage, so that the rest of the voyage lay mainly in the open sea. They sailed away, he also tells us, from the mouth of a certain river where they had landed, and bivouacked on the borders of Persis, taking there on board a supply of water to last for five days, as the pilots informed them that no water would be found on the way.

XLI. After having sailed on for 500 stadia, they drop anchor at the mouth of an estuary which abounded with fish, the name of which

was Cataderbis, having an islet lying at its mouth called Margastana. They sailed from this at dawn of day, with the ships in single file through shallow water. The existence of the shoal was indicated by stakes fastened on this side and on that, in the same way as sign-posts are exhibited in the isthmus between the island of Leucadia and Acarnania, to warn seafarers against running their ships aground on the shoals. But the shoals of Leucadia are sandy, and on that account stranded vessels can be readily floated again. In the present case, however, there was mud both deep and tenacious on both sides of the passage, so that if vessels were once stranded they were hopelessly lost: for it was of no avail to thrust poles into the mud to move them away, nor could the men jump out and push them into navigable water, for they would themselves sink in the mud up to the very waist. Having thus with great difficulty made their way for 600 stadia, they came to anchor, each crew remaining in its own ship, and then thought of dining. But during the night and all the next day, even till eventide, they were sailing in deep water, and completed a course of 900 stadia, anchoring at the mouth of the Euphrates near a village in Babylonia, called Dridotis, which was the emporium of the sea-borne trade in frankincense and all the other fragrant products of Arabia. The

distance from the mouth of the Euphrates up to Babylon, as Nearchus gives it, is 3300 stadia.

XLII. Here word is brought that Alexander was marching towards Susa; so they sailed back from this place to join him by sailing up the Pasitigris; and they sailed back, with Susis on their left hand, along the shores of the lake into which the river Tigris empties itself, which, flowing from Armenia and passing the city of Nineveh—so great and flourishing in the olden times—encloses a region between itself and the Euphrates, which is on that account called Mesopotamia. The distance from where they entered the lake to where they entered the river was 600 stadia. This was at a point where a village belonging to Susis is situated called Aginis, the same being 500 stadia distant from Susa. The length of the voyage along Susis to the mouth of the Pasitigris is 2000 stadia. They sailed thence up the Pasitigris through a well-peopled and fertile country, and having proceeded 150 stadia drop anchor, and there wait the return of messengers whom Nearchus had despatched to find out where the king was. Nearchus then sacrificed to the gods who had preserved their lives, and celebrated games, and great was the rejoicing of all who belonged to the expedition. When word was brought back that Alexander was approaching,

they sailed again up the river, and anchor in the neighbourhood of the bridge by which Alexander intended to lead his army to Susa. In that same place the troops were reunited, when sacrifices were offered by Alexander for the safety of his ships and his men, and games were celebrated. Nearchus, whenever he was seen among the troops, was pelted with flowers and fillets. There also both Nearchus and Leonnatus were crowned by Alexander with golden crowns,—Nearchus on account of the safety of the expedition by sea, and Leonnatus for the victory which he had gained over the Oritæ and the neighbouring barbarians. It was thus that the expedition which had started from the mouths of the Indus was brought in safety to Alexander.

XLIII. Now the parts which lie to the right of the Erythræan Sea beyond the realms of Babylonia belong principally to Arabia, which extends in one direction as far as the sea that washes the shores of Phœnicia and Syrian Palestine, while towards sunset it borders on the Egyptians in the direction of the Mediterranean Sea. But Egypt is penetrated by a gulf which extends <sup>Rid Sea</sup> up from the great ocean, and as this ocean is connected with the Erythræan Sea, this fact proves that a voyage could be made all the way from Babylon to Egypt by means of this gulf. But, owing to the heat and utter sterility

of the coast, no one has ever made this voyage, except, it may be, some casual seafarers. For the troops belonging to the army of Cambyses which escaped from Egypt and reached Susa in safety, and the troops sent by Ptolemy the son of Lagus to Seleucus Nicator to Babylon, traversed the Arabian isthmus in eight days altogether. It was a waterless and sterile region, and they had to cross it mounted on camels going at full speed, while they carried water with them on camels, travelling only by night, for by day the heat was so fierce that they could not expose themselves in the open air. So far are the parts lying beyond this region, which we have spoken of as an isthmus extending from the Arabian Gulf to the Erythraean Sea, from being inhabited, that even the parts which run up further to the north are a desert of sand. Moreover, men setting forth from the Arabian Gulf in Egypt, after having sailed round the greater part of Arabia to reach the sea which washes the shores of Persis and Susa, have returned, after sailing as far along the coast of Arabia as the water they had shipped lasted them, and no further. But those adventurers whom Alexander sent from Babylon with instructions to sail as far as they could along the right-hand coast of the Erythraean Sea, with a view to explore the regions lying in that direction, discovered some islands lying in their

route, and touched also at certain points of the mainland of Arabia. But as for that cape which Nearchus states was seen by the expedition projecting into the sea right opposite to Carmania, there is no one who has been able to double it and gain the other side. But if the place could possibly be passed, either by a sea-route or a land-route, it seems to me that Alexander, being so inquisitive and enterprising, would have proved that it could be passed in both these ways. But again Hanno the Libyan, having set out from Carthage, sailed out into the ocean beyond the Pillars of Hercules, having Libya on his left hand, and the time until his course was shaped towards the rising sun was five-and-thirty days; but when he steered southward he encountered many difficulties from the want of water, from the scorching heat, and from streams of fire that fell into the sea. Cyrene, no doubt, which is situated in a somewhat barren part of Libya, is verdant, possessed of a genial climate, and well watered, has groves and meadows, and yields abundantly all kinds of useful animals and vegetable products. But this is only the case up to the limits of the area within which the fennel-plant can grow, while beyond this area the interior of Cyrene is but a desert of sand.

So ends my narrative relating to Alexander the son of Philip the Macedonian.

## NOTES.\*

Arrian, distinguished as a philosopher, a statesman, a soldier, and an historian, was born in Nicomedia, in Bithynia, towards the end of the first century. He was a pupil of the philosopher Epictetus, whose lectures he published. His talents recommended him to the favour of Antoninus Pius, by whom he was raised to the consulship (A.D. 146). In his later years he retired to his native town, where he applied his leisure to the composition of works on history. He died at an advanced age, in the reign of the emperor Marcus Aurelius. The work by which he is best known is his account of the Asiatic expedition of Alexander the Great, which is remarkable alike for accuracy, and the Xenophontic ease and clearness of its style. His work on India ('Ινδική or τὰ Ἰνδικά) may be regarded as a continuation of his *Anabasis*. It is not written, however, like the *Anabasis*, in

\* The main object of the Notes is to show how the localities, &c. mentioned in the text have been identified. In drawing them up I have derived great assistance from C. Müller's *Geographi Graeci Minores*,—a work which contains the text of the *Indico* with notes,—Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of Classical Geography*, and General Cunningham's *Geography of Ancient India*.

the Attic dialect, but in the Ionic. The reason may have been that he wished his work to supersede the old and less accurate account of India written in Ionic by Ktesias of Knidos.

The *Indica* consists of three parts:—the first gives a general description of India, based chiefly on the accounts of the country given by Megasthenes and Eratosthenes (chaps. i.—xvii.); the second gives an account of the voyage made by Nearchus the Cretan from the Indus to the *Pasitigris*, based entirely on the narrative of the voyage written by Nearchus himself (chaps. xviii.—xlvi.); the third contains a collection of proofs to show that the southern parts of the world are uninhabitable on account of the great heat (chap. xlvi. to the end).

CHAP. I. The river *Kophen*.—Another form of the name, used by Strabo, Pliny, &c., is *Kophes*, -etis. It is now the *Kabul* river. In chap. iv. Arrian gives the names of its tributaries as the *Malantos* (*Malamantos*), *Soastos*, and *Garroias*. In the 6th book of the *Mahabhrata* three rivers are named which probably correspond to them—the *Suvastu*, *Gauri*, and *Kampaṇa*. The *Soastos* is no doubt the *Suvastu*, and the *Garra* the *Gauri*. Curtius and Strabo call the *Suastus* the *Choraspes*. According to Mannert the *Suastus* and the *Guræus* or *Gurus* were identical. Lassen\* would, however, identify the *Suastus* with

\* *Iod. Alterthums*, (2nd ed.) II. 673ff.

the modern Suwad or Svat, and the Garraeus with its tributary the Panjkora; and this is the view adopted by General Cunningham. The Malamanos some would identify with the Choës (mentioned by Arrian, *Anabasis* IV. 25), which is probably represented by the modern Kamel or Khonar, the largest of the tributaries of the Kâbul; others, however, with the Panjkora. General Cunningham, on the other hand, takes it to be the Bâra, a tributary which joins the Kâbul from the south. With regard to the name Kophes he remarks:—"The name of Kophes is as old as the time of the *Vedas* in which the Kunhâ river is mentioned\* as an affluent of the Indus; and, as it is not an Aryan word, I infer that the name must have been applied to the Kâbul river before the Aryan occupation, or at least as early as B.C. 2500. In the classical writers we find the Choës, Kophes, and Chaspes rivers to the west of the Indus; and at the present day we have the Kunar, the Kurram, and the Gomal rivers to the west, and the Kunihar river to the east of the Indus,—all of which are derived from the Skythian *ku*, 'water.' It is the guttural form of the Assyrian *ku* in 'Euphrates' and 'Eulæus,' and of the Turki *su* and the Tibetan *chu*, all of which mean 'water' or 'river.''" Ptolemy the Geographer mentions a city called Kabura

\* Both first pointed this out:—conf. Lassen, *ut sup.*—ED.

situated on the banks of the Kopphen, and a people called Kabolitæ.

*Astakenoi* and *Assakenoi*.—It is doubtful whether these were the same or different tribes. It has been conjectured, from some slight resemblance in the name, that they may have been the ancestors of the Afghans. Their territory lay between the Indus and the Kopphen, extending from their junction as far westward as the valley of the Guraios or Panjkora. Other tribes in these parts were the Masianni, Nysæi, and Hippasii.

Nysa, being the birth-place of Bacchus, was, as is well known, bestowed as a name on various places noted for the cultivation of the vine. General Cunningham refers its site to a point on the Kophes above its junction with the Choës. The city may, however, have existed only in fable.\*

*Massaka* (other forms are Massaga, Masaga, and Mazaga).—The Sanskrit *Maśakā*, near the Gauri, already mentioned. Curtius states that it was defended by a rapid river on its eastern side. When attacked by Alexander, it held out for four days against all his assaults.

*Peukelaïtis* (other forms—Penkelaëtis, Peukolitæ, Peukelaötis).—“The Greek name,” says General Cunningham, “of Peukelaotis or Penkolaitis was immediately derived from

\* Lassen, u. s. 141, 681.

Pukkalaoti, which is the Pāli or spoken form of the Sanskrit Pushkalavati. It is also called Penkelas by Arrian, and the people are named Peukalei by Dionysius Periegetes, which are both close transcripts of the Pāli Pukkala. The form of Proklois, which is found in Arrian's *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* and also in Ptolemy's *Geography*, is perhaps only an attempt to give the Hindi name of Pokhar, instead of the Sanskrit Pushkara." The same authority fixes its position at "the two large towns Parang and Chārsada, which form part of the well-known Hashtnagar, or 'eight cities,' that are seated close together on the eastern bank of the lower Swāt river." The position indicated is nearly seventeen miles to the north-east of Peshāwar. Pushkala, according to Prof. Wilson, is still represented by the modern Pekhely or Pakholi, in the neighbourhood of Peshāwar. The distance of Peukelaitis from Taxila (now represented by the vast ruins of Mānikyālā) is given by Pliny at sixty miles.

CHAP. II.—Parapamisos (other forms—Paropamisos, Paropamissos, Paropanisos). This denotes the great mountain range now called Hindū Kūsh, supposed to be a corrupted form of "Indicus Caucasus," the name given to the range by the Macedonians, either to flatter Alexander, or because they regarded it as a continuation of Caucasus. Arrian, however, and

others held it to be a continuation of Taurus. The mountains belonging to the range which lie to the north of the Kâbul river are called Nishadha, a Sanskrit word which appears perhaps in the form Paropanisus, which is that given by Ptolemy. According to Pliny, the Scythians called Mount Caucasus Graucasias, a word which represents the Indian name of Paropamisos, Gravakshas, which Ritter translates "*splendentes rupium montes.*" According to General Cunningham, the Mount Paresh or Aparasin of the Zendavesta corresponds with the Paropamisos of the Greeks. In modern maps Hindû Kush generally designates the eastern part of the range, and Paropamisos the western. According to Sir Alexander Burnes, the name Hindû Kush is unknown to the Afghâns, but there is a particular peak and also a pass bearing that name between Afghanistân and Turkestân.

Emodos (other forms—Emoda, Emodon, Hemodes).—The name generally designated that part of the Himalayan range which extended along Nepâl and Bhûtan and onward towards the ocean. Lassen derives the word from the Sanskrit *haimavata*, in Prâkrit *hainota*, 'snowy.' If this be so, 'Hemodos' is the more correct form. Another derivation refers the word to "*hémâdri*" (*hema*, gold, and *adri*, mountain), 'the golden mountains,'—so called either because they were thought to contain gold mines, or because of the

aspect they presented when their snowy peaks reflected the golden effulgence of sunset.

**I m a u s.**—Related to the Sanskrit *himavata*, 'snowy.' The name was applied at first by the Greeks to the Hindū Kush and the Himalayas, but was in course of time transferred to the Bolor range. This chain, which runs north and south, was regarded by the ancients as dividing Northern Asia into "Scythia intra Imaun" and "Scythia extra Imaun," and it has formed for ages the boundary between China and Turkestan. Pliny calls Imaus a 'promontorium' of the *Montes Emodi*, stating at the same time that in the language of the inhabitants the name means 'snowy.'

**Pattala.**—The name of the Delta was properly Pāṭalene, and Pāṭala was its capital. This was situated at the head of the Delta, where the western stream of the Indus bifurcated. Thatha has generally been regarded as its modern representative, but General Cunningham would "almost certainly" identify it with Nirankol or Haidarābād, of which Pāṭalpur and Pāṭasilla ('flat rock') were old appellations. With regard to the name Pāṭala he suggests that "it may have been derived from *Pāṭala*, the trumpet flower" (*Bigonia suaveolens*), in allusion to the trumpet shape of the province included between the eastern and western branches of the mouth of the Indus, as the two branches as they approach the

sea curve outward like the mouth of a trumpet." Ritter, however, says:—"Pāṭāla is the designation bestowed by the Brāhmaṇas on all the provinces in the west towards sunset, in antithesis to Prasiaka (the eastern realm) in Ganges-land: for *Pāṭḍla* is the mythological name in Sanskrit of the under-world, and consequently of the land of the west." Arrian's estimate of the magnitude of the Delta is somewhat excessive. The length of its base, from the Pitti to the Kori mouth, was less than 1000 stadia, while that of the Egyptian Delta was 1300.

CHAP. III. 1300 *stadii*.—The Olympic stadium, which was in general use throughout Greece, contained 600 Greek feet = 625 Roman feet, or  $606\frac{1}{4}$  English feet. The Roman mile contained eight stadia, being about half a stadium less than an English mile. Not a few of the measurements given by Arrian are excessive, and it has therefore been conjectured that he may have used some standard different from the Olympic,—which, however, is hardly probable. With regard to the dimensions of India as stated in this chapter, General Cunningham observes that their close agreement with the actual size of the country is very remarkable, and shows that the Indians, even at that early date in their history, had a very accurate knowledge of the form and extent of their native land.

*Schœni*.—The schoenus was = 2 Persian para-

sangs = 60 stadia, but was generally taken at half that length.

CHAP. IV. *Tributaries of the Ganges*.—Seventeen are here enumerated, the Jamnâ being omitted, which, however, is afterwards mentioned (chap. viii.) as the Jobares. Pliny calls it the Jomanes, and Ptolemy the Diamounas. In Sanskrit it is the Jamunâ (sister of Yama).

Kaīnas.—Some would identify this with the Kān or Kāne, a tributary of the Jamnâ. *Kān* is, however, in Sanskrit Śena, and of this *Kaīnas* cannot be the Greek representative.

Eranno boas.—As Arrian informs us (chap. x.) that Palimbothra (Pāṭaliputra, Pāṭnâ) was situated at the confluence of this river with the Ganges, it must be identified with the river Sōn, which formerly joined the Ganges a little above Pāṭnâ, where traces of its old channel are still discernible. The word no doubt represents the Sanskrit Hiranyakāha ('carrying gold') or Hiranyabāhu ('having golden arms'), which are both poetical names of the Sōn. It is said to be still called Hiranyakāha by the people on its banks. Megasthenes, however, and Arrian, both make the Eranno boas and the Sōn to be distinct rivers, and hence some would identify the former with the Gāndak (Sanskrit Gāndaki), which, according to Lassen, was called by the Buddhists Hiranyakavati, or 'the golden'. It is, however,

too small a stream to suit the description of the Erannoobas, that it was the largest river in India after the Ganges and Indus. The Sôn may perhaps in the time of Megasthenes have joined the Ganges by two channels, which he may have mistaken for separate rivers.

**Kosoanos.**—Cosoagus is the form of the name in Pliny, and hence it has been taken to be the representative of the Sanskrit Kaushiki, the river now called the Kosi. Schwanbeck, however, thinks it represents the Sanskrit *Kośdvala* (== 'treasure-bearing'), and that it is therefore an epithet of the Sôn, like Hiranyavâha, which has the same meaning. It seems somewhat to favour this view that Arrian in his enumeration places the Kosoanos between the Erannoobas and the Sôn.

**Sonos.**—The Sôn, which now joins the Ganges ten miles above Dînâpur. The word is considered to be a contraction of the Sanskrit *Suvarna* (Suvanna), 'golden,' and may have been given as a name to the river either because its sands were yellow, or because they contained gold dust.

**Sittokatis and Solomatis.**—It has not been ascertained what rivers were denoted by these names. General Cunningham in one of his maps gives the Solomatis as a name of the Saranju or Sarju, a tributary of the Ghagrâ, while Benfey would identify it with the famous *Sarasvatî* or Sarsuti, which, ac-

cording to the legends, after disappearing underground, joined the Ganges at Allahâbâd.

**Kondochates.**—Now the **Gandak**,—in Sanskrit, **Gandaki** or **Gandakavati** (*γανδακερότεις*),—because of its abounding in a kind of alligator having a horn-like projection on its nose.

**Sambos.**—Probably the **Sarabos** of Ptolemy. It may be the **Samhal**, a tributary of the Jamnâ.

**Magon.**—According to Mannert the **Râmgangâ**.

**Agoranis.**—According to Rennel the **Ghagrâ**—a word derived from the Sanskrit **Ghârghâra** ('of gurgling sound').

**Omalis** has not been identified, but Schwabeck remarks that the word closely agrees with the Sanskrit **Vimala** ('stainless'), a common epithet of rivers.

**Kommenses.**—Rennel and Lassen identify this with the **Karmansâ** (*bonorum operum destructrix*), a small river which joins the Ganges above Baxâr. According to a Hindu legend, whoever touches the water of this river loses all the merit of his good works, this being transferred to the nymph of the stream.

**Kakouthis.**—Mannert takes this to be the **Gumti**.

**Andomatis.**—Thought by Lassen to be connected with the Sanskrit **Andhamati** (*tenebris-cosus*) which he would identify, therefore, with

the Tâmasâ, the two names being identical in meaning.

Madyandini may represent, Lassen thinks, the Sanskrit Madhyandina (*meridionalis*).

Amystis has not been identified, nor Kata dupa, the city which it passes. The latter part of this word, *dupa*, may stand, Schwanbeck suggests, for the Sanskrit *dvipa*, 'an island.'

Oxymagis.—The Pazalæ or Passalæ, called in Sanskrit Pankala, inhabited the Doâb, —through which, or the region adjacent to it, flowed the Ikshumati ('abounding in sugar-cane'). Oxymagis very probably represented this name.

Errenysis closely corresponds to Vârâ-nâsi, the name of Bânâras in Sanskrit,—so called from the rivers Varana and Asi, which join the Ganges in its neighbourhood. The Mathæ may be the people of Magadha. V. de Saint-Martin would fix their position in the country between the lower part of the Gumti and the Ganges, adding that "the *Journal* of Hiouen Thsang places their capital, Mâti-pura, at a little distance to the east of the upper Ganges near Gangâdvâra, now Hardwâr."

*Tributaries of the Indus* :—Hydrates.—Other forms are Rhouadis and Hyarotis. It is now called the Ravi, the name being a contraction

of the Sanskrit *Irāvati*, which means 'abounding in water,' or 'the daughter of Irāvat,' the elephant of Indra, who is said to have generated the river by striking his tusk against the rock whence it issues. His name has reference to his 'ocean' origin.

The name of the *Kambistholæ* does not occur elsewhere. Schwanbeck conjectures that it may represent the Sanskrit *Kapisthola*, 'ape-land,' the letter *m* being inserted, as in 'Palimbothra.' Arrian errs in making the *Hypasis* a tributary of the *Hydraotes*, for it falls into the *Akesines* below its junction with that river.

*Hypasis* (other forms are *Bibasis*, *Hypasis*, and *Hypanis*).—In Sanskrit the *Vipāśa*, and now the *Byasa* or *Bias*. It lost its name on being joined by the *Śatadru*, 'the hundred-channelled,' the *Zaradros* of Ptolemy, now the *Satlej*. The *Astrobae* are not mentioned by any writer except Arrian.

*Saranges*.—According to Schwanbeck, this word represents the Sanskrit *Saranga*, 'six-limbed.' It is not known what river it designated. The *Kekians*, through whose country it flowed, were called in Sanskrit, according to Lassen, *Sekaya*.

*Neudros* is not known. The *Attakeni* are likewise unknown, unless their name is another form of *Assakeni*.

*Hydaspes*.—*Bidaspes* is the form in Pto-

lemy. In Sanskrit Vitasta, now the Bēhūt or Jhēlam; called also by the inhabitants on its banks the Bedusta, 'widely spread.' It is the "fabulosus Hydaspes" of Horace, and the "Medus Hydaspes" of Virgil. It formed the western boundary of the dominions of Porus.

**Oxydrakai.**—This name represents, according to Lassen, the Sanskrit Kashudraka. It is variously written,—Sydrakm, Syrakusm (probably a corrupt reading for Sudrakæ), Sabagras, and Sygambri. According to some accounts, this was the people among whom Alexander was severely wounded when his life was saved by Ptolemy, who in consequence received the name of *Soter*. Arrian, however, refers this incident to the country of the Malli.

**Akesines.**—Now the Chenāb: in Sanskrit Asikni, 'dark-coloured,'—called afterwards Chandrabhāga. "This would have been hellenized into Sandrophagos,—a word so like to Androphagos or Alexandrophagos that the followers of Alexander changed the name to avoid the evil omen,—the more so, perhaps, on account of the disaster which befell the Macedonian fleet at the turbulent junction of the river with the Hydaspes."—*Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*.

**Malli.**—They occupied the country between the Akesines and the Hydراotes or Irāvati. The name represents the Sanskrit Malava, Multān, being its modern representative.

Toutapos.—Probably the lower part of the Satadru or Satlej.

Parenos.—Probably the modern Burindu.

Saparnos.—Probably the Abbasin.

Soanus represents the Sanskrit Suvana, 'the sun,' or 'fire'—now the Swan.

The Abissareans.—The name may represent the Sanskrit Abisara.\* A king called Abisares is mentioned by Arrian in his *Anabasis* (iv. 7). It may be here remarked that the names of the Indian kings, as given by the Greek writers, were in general the names slightly modified of the people over whom they ruled.

Taurumnum.—The modern Semlin.

CHAP. V. Megasthenes.—The date of his mission to India is uncertain. Clinton assigns it to the year 303 B.C., since about that time an alliance was formed between Seleucus and Sandrakottus (Chandragupta). It is also a disputed point whether he was sent on more than one embassy, as the words of Arrian (*Anab.* V. 6.), πολλάκις δε λέγει ἀφικέσθαι παρὰ Σανδράκοττον τὸν Ἰνδῶν βασιλέα, may mean either that he went on several missions to Sandrakottus, or merely that he had frequent interviews with him. From Arrian we further learn, regarding Megasthenes that he lived with Tyburtius the satrap of Arachosia, who obtained the satrapies of Arachosia

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\* Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* II. 168.

and Gedrosia 323 B.C. Sandrakottus died about B.C. 288.

Sesostris has been identified with Rames, the third king of the nineteenth dynasty as given in the History of Manetho.

*Idanthyrosos*.—Strabo mentions an irruption of Skythians into Asia under a leader of this name, and Herodotus mentions an invasion which was led by Madyas. As *Idanthyrosos* may have been a common appellative of all the Skythian kings, it may be one and the same invasion to which both writers refer. It was made when Kyaxares reigned in Media and Psammitichus in Egypt.

Mount *Meru*.—Mount *Meru*, the Olympus of Indian mythology. As a geographical term it designated the highland of Tartary north of the *Himālaya*. *Siva* was the Indian deity whom the Greeks identified with *Bacchus*, as they identified *Krishṇa* with *Hercules*.

The rock *Aornos*.—The much-vexed question of the position of this celebrated rock has been settled by General Cunningham, who has identified it with the ruined fortress of *Rāṇigat*, situated immediately above the small village of *Nogrām*, which lies about sixteen miles north by west from *Ohind*, which he takes to be the *Embolima* of the ancients. “*Rāṇigat*,” he says, “or the Queen’s rock, is a large upright block on the north edge of the fort, on which *Rāja Varā’s rāni* is said to have seated herself

daily. The fort itself is attributed to Rāja Vara, and some ruins at the foot of the hill are called Rāja Vara's stables . . . I think, therefore, that the hill-fort of Aornos most probably derived its name from Rāja Vara, and that the ruined fortress of Rājāgat has a better claim to be identified with the Aornos of Alexander than either the Mahāban hill of General Abbott, or the castle of Rāja Hodi proposed by General Court and Mr. Loewenthal."

The Cave of Prometheus.—Probably one of the vast caves in the neighbourhood of Bamian.

Sibæ.—A fierce mountain tribe called Sia-pul or Siapush still exists, inhabiting the Hindū Kush, who use to this day the club, and wear the skins of goats for clothing. According to Curtius, however, the Sivæ, whom he calls Sobii, occupied the country between the Hydaspes and Akesines. They may have derived their name from the god Śiva. In the neighbourhood of Hardwâr there is a district called Siba.

CHAP. VI. The Silas.—Other forms are Sillas and Silias. Demokritos and Aristotle doubted the story told of this river, but Lassen states that mention is made in Indian writings of a river in the northern part of India whose waters have the power of turning everything cast into them into stone, the Sanskrit word for which is *sila*.

Tala.—The fan-palm, the *Borassus flabelliformis* of botany.

CHAP. VIII.—Spatembas and his successors were the kings of Magadha, which in these early times was the most powerful kingdom in India: Palibothra was its capital.

Boudyas.—This is, no doubt, the name of Buddha hellenized.

Souraseni.—This name represents the Sanskrit Sūrasena, which designated the country about Methora, now Mathurā, famous as the birthplace and scene of the adventures of Kṛishṇa, whom the Greeks identified with Hercules. Methora is mentioned by Pliny, who says, “Amnis Jomanes in Gangem per Palibothros decurrit inter oppida Methora et Charisobora.” Chrysobora and Kyrisobora are various readings for Charisobora, which is doubtless another form of Arrian’s Kleisobora. This word may represent, perhaps, the Sanskrit Kṛishṇāputra. Jobares is the Jamunā. The Palibothri, in the passage quoted, must be taken to denote the subjects of the realm of which Palibothra was the capital, and not merely the inhabitants of that city, as some have supposed.

Pandaea.—Pliny mentions a tribe called Pandæ, who alone of the Indians were in the habit of having female sovereigns. The name undoubtedly points to the famous dynasty of the Pāṇḍavas, which extended so widely over India. In the south there was a district called

*Pandavi regio*, while another of the same name is placed by Ptolemy in the Panjâb on the Bidaspes (Bias).

**M a r g a r i t a.**—This word cannot be traced to Sanskrit. Murvarid is said to be a name in Persian for the pearl.

**P a l i b o t h r a.**—The Sanskrit Pâtaliputra, now Pâtnâ, sometimes still called Pâtaliputra. The name means 'the son of the Pâtali, or trumpet flower (*Bignonia suaveolens*).’ Its earliest name was Kausambi, so called as having been founded by Kuśa, the father of the celebrated sage Viśvamitra. It was subsequently called also Pushpapura or Kusumapura, ‘the city of flowers.’ Megasthenes and Eratosthenes give its distance from the mouth of the Ganges at 6000 stadia.

**The P r a s i a n s.**—“Strabo and Pliny,” says General Cunningham, “agree with Arrian in calling the people of Palibothra by the name of Prasii, which modern writers have unanimously referred to the Sanskrit Pritchya or ‘eastern.’ But it seems to me that Prasii is only the Greek form of Palâsa or Parâsa, which is an actual and well-known name of Magadha, of which Palibothra was the capital. It obtained this name from the *Palda*, or *Butea frondosa*, which still grows as luxuriantly in the province as in the time of Hiwen Thsang. The common form of the name is Parâs, or when quickly pronounced Prâs, which I take to be

the true original of the Greek *Prasii*. This derivation is supported by the spelling of the name given by Curtius, who calls the people *Pharrasii*, which is an almost exact transcript of the Indian name *Parasiya*. The *Praxiakos* of *Ælian* is only the derivative from *Palasaka*.

CHAP. XXI.—According to Vincent, the expedition started on the 23rd of October 327 B.C.; the text indicates the year 326, but the correct date is 325. The lacuna marked by the asterisks has been supplied by inserting the name of the Macedonian month *Dius*. The Ephesians adopted the names of the months used by the Macedonians, and so began their year with the month *Dius*, the first day of which corresponds to the 24th of September. The harbour from which the expedition sailed was distant from the sea 150 stadia. It was probably in the island called by Arrian, in the *Anabasis* (vi. 19), *Killuta*, in the western arm of the Indus,—that now called the *Pitti* mouth.

*Kaunmara* may perhaps be represented by the modern *Khâu*, the name of one of the mouths of the Indus in the part through which the expedition passed.

*Koreëstis*.—This name does not occur elsewhere. Regarding the sunken reef encountered by the fleet after leaving this place, Sir Alexander Burnes says: “Near the mouth of the river we passed a rock stretching across the stream, which is particularly mentioned by

Nearchus, who calls it *a dangerous rock*, and is the more remarkable since there is not even a stone below Tatta in any other part of the Indus." The rock, he adds, is at a distance of six miles up the Pitti. "It is vain," says Captain Wood in the narrative of his *Journey to the Source of the Oxus*, "in the delta of such a river (as the Indus), to identify existing localities with descriptions handed down to us by the historians of Alexander the Great. . . . (but) Burnes has, I think, shown that the mouth by which the Grecian fleet left the Indus was the modern Piti. The 'dangerous rock' of Nearchus completely identifies the spot, and as it is still in existence, without any other within a circle of many miles, we can wish for no stronger evidence." With regard to the canal dug through this rock, Burnes remarks: "The Greek admiral only availed himself of the experience of the people, for it is yet customary among the natives of Sind to dig shallow canals and leave the tides or river to deepen them; and a distance of five stadia, or half a mile, would call for not great labour. It is not to be supposed that sandbanks will continue unaltered for centuries, but I may observe that there was a large bank contiguous to the island, between it and which a passage like that of Nearchus might have been dug with the greatest advantage." The same author thus describes the mouth of the Pitti:—"Beginning from the westward

we have the Pitti mouth, an embouchure of the Buggaur, that falls into what may be called the Bay of Karâchi. It has no bar, but a large sandbank together with an island outside prevent a direct passage into it from the sea, and narrow the channel to about half a mile at its mouth."

**Krokala.**—"Karâchi," says General Cunningham, "must have been on the eastern frontier of the Arabitæ,—a deduction which is admitted by the common consent of all inquirers, who have agreed in identifying the Kolaka of Ptolemy, and the sandy island of Krokola where Nearchus farried with his fleet for one day, with a small island in the bay of Karâchi. Krokala is further described as lying off the mainland of the Arabii. It was 150 stadia, or  $17\frac{1}{4}$  miles, from the western mouth of the Indus,—which agrees exactly with the relative positions of Karâchi and the mouth of the Ghâra river, if, as we may fairly assume, the present coast-line has advanced five or six miles

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tion is confirmed by the fact that the district in which Karâchi is situated is called Kar-kalla to this day. On leaving Krokala, Nearchus had Mount Eiros (Manora) on his right hand, and a low flat island on his left,—which is a very accurate description of the entrance to Karâchi harbour."

**A r a b i i.**—The name is variously written,—Arabite, Arbii, Arabies, Arbies, Aribes, Arbiti. The name of their river has also several forms,—Arabis, Arabius, Artabis, Artabius. It is now called the Purâli, the river which flows through the present district of Las into the bay of Sonmiyâni.

**O r i t æ.**—The name in Curtius is Horite. General Cunningham identifies them with the people on the Aghor river, whom he says the Greeks would have named Agoritæ or Aoritæ, by the suppression of the guttural, of which a trace still remains in the initial aspirate of 'Horitæ.' Some would connect the name with Ha u r, a town which lay on the route to Firabaz, in Mekrân.

**B i b a k t a.**—The form of the name is Bibaga in Pliny, who gives its distance from Krokala at twelve miles. Vincent would refer it to the island now called Chilney,—which, however, is too distant.

**S a n g a d a.**—This name D'Anville thought survived in that of a race of noted pirates who infested the shores of the gulf of Kachh, called the *Sangadians* or *Sangarians*.

**CHAP. XXII.**—The coast from Karâchi to the Purâli has undergone considerable changes, so that the position of the places mentioned in this chapter cannot be precisely determined. "From Cape Monze to Sonmiyani," says Blair, "the coast bears evident marks of having suf-

fered considerable alterations from the encroachments of the sea. We found trees which had been washed down, and which afforded us a supply of fuel. In some parts I saw imperfect creeks in a parallel direction with the coast. These might probably be the vestiges of that narrow channel through which the Greek galleys passed."

Domæ.—This island is not known, but it probably lay near the rocky headland of Irus, now called Manorâ, which protects the port of Karâchi from the sea and bad weather.

Morontobari.—"The name of Morontobara," says General Cunningham, "I would identify with Muâri, which is now applied to the headland of Râs Muâri or Cape Monze, the last point of the Pab range of mountains. *Bâra*, or *Bâri*, means a roadstead or haven; and Moranta is evidently connected with the Persian *Mard*, a man, of which the feminine is still preserved in Kâsmîrî, as *Mahrin*, a woman. From the distances given by Arrian, I am inclined to fix it at the mouth of the Bâhâr rivulet, a small stream which falls into the sea about midway between Cape Monze and Sonmiyâni." *Women's Haven* is mentioned by Ptolemy and Ammianus Marcellinus. There is in the neighbourhood a mountain now called Mor, which may be a remnant of the name Morontobari. The channel through which the fleet passed after leaving this place no longer exists, and the island has of course disappeared.

Haven at the mouth of the *A r a b i s*.—The *Purâli* discharges its waters into the bay of *Sonmiyâni*, as has been already mentioned. “*Sonmiyâni*,” says Kempthorne, “is a small town or fishing village situated at the mouth of a creek which runs up some distance inland. It is governed by a shoikh, and the inhabitants appear to be very poor, chiefly subsisting on dried fish and rice. A very extensive bar or sandbank runs across the mouth of this inlet, and none but vessels of small burden can get over it even at high water, but inside the water is deep.” The inhabitants of the present day are as badly off for water as their predecessors of old. “Everything,” says one who visited the place, “is scarce, even water, which is procured by digging a hole five or six feet deep, and as many in diameter, in a place which was formerly a swamp; and if the water oozes, which sometimes it does not, it serves them that day, and perhaps the next, when it turns quite brackish, owing to the nitrous quality of the earth.”

CHAP. XXIII. *P a g a l i*.—Another form is *Pegadæ*, met with in Philostratus, who wrote a work on India.

*K a b a n a*.—To judge from the distances given, this place should be near the stream now called *Agbor*, on which is situated *H a r k â n â*. It is probably the *Kaamba* of Ptolemy.

*K o k a l a* must have been situated near the headland now called *R a s K a t e h a r i*.

CHAP. XXIV. *Tomeros*.—From the distances given, this must be identified with the Maklow or Hingal river; some would, however, make it the Bhusal. The form of the name in Pliny is *Tomberus*, and in Mela—*Tubero*. These authors mention another river in connection with the *Tomerus*,—the *Arosapos* or *Arusaces*.

XXV. *Malana*.—Its modern representative is doubtless *Rås Malin* or *Malen*.

*The Length of the Voyage, 1600 stadia*.—In reality the length is only between 1000 and 1100 stadia, even when allowance is made for the winding of the coast. Probably the difficulty of the navigation made the distances appear much greater than the reality.

CHAP. XXVI. *The Gedrosians*.—Their country, which corresponds generally to Mekrân, was called Gedrosia, Kedrosia, Gadrosia, or Gadrusia. The people were an Arianian race akin to the Arachosii, Arii, and Drangiani.

*Bagisara*.—“This place,” says Kämpthorne, “is now known by the name of Arbab or Hormaral Bay, and is deep and commodious with good anchorage, sheltered from all winds but those from the southward and eastward. The point which forms this bay is very high and precipitous, and runs out some distance into the sea . . . . Rather a large fishing village is situated on a low sandy isthmus about one mile across, which divides the bay from another.

.... The only articles of provision we could obtain from the inhabitants were a few fowls, some dried fish, and goats. They grow no kind of vegetable or corn, a few water-melons being the only thing these desolate regions bring forth. Sandy deserts extend into the interior as far as the eye can reach, and at the back of these rise high mountains."

The *Rha pua* of Ptolemy corresponds to the *Bagisara* or *Pasira* of Arrian, and evidently survives in the present name of the bay and the headland of *Araha*.

*Kolta*.—A place unknown. It was situated on the other side of the isthmus which connects *Ras Araba* with the mainland.

*Kalybi*.—A different form is *Kalami* or *Kalamæ*. Situated on the river now called *Kalami*, or *Kumra*, or *Kurnat*.

*Karne* (other forms—*Karbine*, *Karmina*). The coast was probably called *Karmin*, if *Karmis* is represented in *Kurmat*. The island lying twelve miles off the mouth of the *Kalami* is now called *Ashtola* or *Sangadip*, which Kempthorne thus describes:—"Ashtola is a small desolate island about four or five miles in circumference, situated twelve miles from the coast of *Mekran*. Its cliffs rise rather abruptly from the sea to the height of about 300 feet, and it is inaccessible except in one place, which is a sandy beach about one mile in extent on the northern side. Great quantities of turtle fre-

quent this island for the purpose of depositing their eggs. Nearchus anchored off it and called it Karnine. He says also that he received hospitable entertainment from its inhabitants, their presents being cattle and fish; but not a vestige of any habitation now remains. The Arabs come to this island and kill immense numbers of these turtles,—not for the purpose of food, but they traffic with the shell to China, where it is made into a kind of paste and then into combs, ornaments, &c., in imitation of tortoise-shell. The carcasses caused a stench almost unbearable. The only land animals we could see on the island were rats, and they were swarming. They feed chiefly on the dead turtle. The island was once famous as the rendezvous of the Jowassimee pirates." Vincent quotes Blair to this effect regarding the island:—"We were warned by the natives at Passara that it would be dangerous to approach the island of Asthola, as it was enchanted, and that a ship had been turned into a rock. The superstitious story did not deter us; we visited the island, found plenty of excellent turtle, and saw the rock alluded to, which at a distance had the appearance of a ship under sail. The story was probably told to prevent our disturbing the turtle. It has, however, some affinity to the tale of Nearchus's transport." As the enchanted island mentioned afterwards (chap. xxxi.), under the name of Nosala, was

100 stadia distant from the coast, it was probably the same as Karnine.

**Kissa.**—Another form is Kysa.

**Mosarna.**—The place according to Ptolemy is 900 stadia distant from the Kalami river, but according to Marcianus 1300 stadia. It must have been situated in the neighbourhood of Cape Passence. The distances here are so greatly exaggerated that the text is suspected to be corrupt or disturbed. From Mosarna to Kophas the distance is represented as 1750 stadia, and yet the distance from Cape Passence to Râs Koppa (the Kophas of the text) is barely 500 stadia.

**CHAP. XXVII. Balomon.**—The name does not occur elsewhere.

**Barna.**—This place is called in Ptolemy and Marcianus Badera or Bodera, and may have been situated near the cape now called Chemaul Bunder.

**Dendrobosa** —In Ptolemy a place is mentioned called Derenoibila, which may be the same as this. The old name perhaps survives in the modern Daram or Duram, the name of a highland on part of the coast between Cape Passence and Guadel.

**Kyiza.**—According to Ptolemy and Marcianus this place lay 400 stadia to the west of the promontory of Alambator (now Râs Guadel). Some trace of the word may be recognized in Râs Ghunes, which now designates a point of land situated about those parts.

*The little town attacked by Nearchus.*—The promontory in its neighbourhood called Bagia is mentioned by Ptolemy and Marcianus, the latter of whom gives its distance from Kyiza at 250 stadia, which is but half the distance as given by Arrian. To the west of this was the river Kaudryaces or Hydriaces, the modern Baghwar Dasti or Muhani river, which falls into the Bay of Gwattar.

CHAP. XXIX. Talmena.—A name not found elsewhere. To judge by the distance assigned, it must be placed on what is now called Chaubar Bay, on the shores of which are three towns, one being called Tiz,—perhaps the modern representative of Tisa, a place in those parts mentioned by Ptolemy, and which may have been the Talmena of Arrian.

Kanasis.—The name is not found elsewhere. It must have been situated on a bay enclosed within the two headlands Râs Fuggem and Râs Godem.

Kanate probably stood on the site of the modern Kungunn, which is near Râs Kalat, and not far from the river Buntli.

Troes.—Erratum for Troi; another form is Tai.

Dagasira.—The place in Ptolemy is called Agris polis,—in Marcianus—Agrisa. The modern name is Girishk.

10,000 *stadia*.—The length of the coast line of the Ichthyophangi is given by Strabo at

7300 stadia only. "This description of the natives, with that of their mode of living and the country they inhabit, is strictly correct even to the present day." (Kempthorne.)

CHAP. XXX.—In illustration of the statements in the text regarding whales may be compared Strabo, XV. ii. 12, 18.

CHAP. XXXII.—Karmania extended from Capo Jask to Râs Nabend, and comprehended the districts now called Moghostân, Kirman, and Lâristan. Its metropolis, according to Ptolemy, was Karmania, now Kirman, which gives its name to the whole province. The first port in Karmania reached by the expedition was in the neighbourhood of Cape Jask, where the coast is described as being very rocky, and dangerous to mariners on account of shoals and rocks under water. Kempthorne says: "The cliffs along this part of the coast are very high, and in many places almost perpendicular. Some have a singular appearance, one near Jask being exactly of the shape of a quoin or wedge; and another is a very remarkable peak, being formed by three stones, as if placed by human hands, one on the top of the other. It is very high, and has the resemblance of a chimney."

Bados.—Erratum for Badis. It is near Jask, beyond which was the promontory now called Râj Keragi or Cape Bombarak, which marks the entrance to the Straits of Ormus.

Maketa.—Now Râs Mussendûm, in Omân—about fifty miles, according to Pliny, from the opposite coast of Karmania. It figures in *Lalla Rookh* as “Selama’s sainted cape.”

CHAP. XXXIII. Neoptana.—This place is not mentioned elsewhere, but must have been situated somewhere in the neighbourhood of the village of Karun.

The Anamis (other forms—Ananis, Andanis, Andamis).—It is now called the Nûrâb.

Harmozia (other forms—Hormazia, Armazia regio).—The name was transferred from the mainland to the island now called Ormus when the inhabitants fled thither to escape from the Moghals. It is called by Arrian Organa (chap. xxxvii.). The Arabians called it Djerun, a name which it continued to bear up to the 12th century. Pliny mentions an island called Oguris, of which perhaps Djerun is a corruption. He ascribes to it the honour of having been the birthplace of Erythres. The description, however, which he gives of it is more applicable to the island called by Arrian (chap. xxxvii.) Oürakta (now Kishm) than to Ormus. Arrian’s description of Harmozia is still applicable to the region adjacent to the Mînâb. “It is termed,” says Kemphorne, “the Paradisc of Persia. It is certainly most beautifully fertile, and abounds in orange groves, orchards containing apples, pears, peaches, and apricots, with vineyards producing a delicious grape, from which was made

at one time a wine called *Amber rosolia*, generally considered the white wine of Kishma; but no wine is made here now." The old name of Kishma—Oärakta—is preserved in one of its modern names, *Vrokt* or *Brokt*.

CHAP. XXXVII. *The island sacred to Poseidon*.—The island now called *Angar*, or *Hanjam*, to the south of Kishm. It is described as being nearly destitute of vegetation and uninhabited. Its hills, of volcanic origin, rise to a height of 300 feet. The other island, distant from the mainland about 300 stadia, is now called the Great Tombo, near which is a smaller island called Little Tombo. They are low, flat, and uninhabited. They are 25 miles distant from the western extremity of Kishm.

*Pylora*.—Now *Polior*.

*Sisidone* (other forms—*Prosidodone*, *pro-Sidone*, *pros Dodone*). Kempthorne thought this was the small fishing village now called *Mogos*, situated in a bay of the same name. The name may perhaps be preserved in the name of a village in the same neighbourhood, called *Dnan Tarsia*—now *Rås-el-Djard*—described as high and rugged, and of a reddish colour.

*Kataka*.—Now the island called *Kaes* or *Kenn*. Its character has altered, as it is now covered with dwarf trees, and grows wheat and tobacco. It supplies ships with refreshment, chiefly goats and sheep and a few vegetables.

CHAP. XXXVIII.—The boundary between Karmania and Persis was formed by a range of mountains opposite the island of Kataka. Ptolemy, however, makes Karmania extend much further, to the river Bagradas, now called the Naban or Nabend.

Kækander (other forms—Kekander, Ki-kauder, Kaskandrus, Karkundrus, Karskandrus, Sasækander). This island, which is now called Inderabia or Andaravia, is about four or five miles from the mainland, having a small town on the north side, where is a safe and commodious harbour. The other island mentioned immediately after is probably that now called Bushaab. It is, according to Kempthorne, a low, flat island about eleven miles from the mainland, containing a small town principally inhabited by Arabs, who live on fish and dates. The harbour has good anchorage even for large vessels.

A postana.—Near a place now called Schewar. It is thought that the name may be traced in Dahr Asban, an adjacent mountain ridge of which Ochus was probably the southern extremity.

*The bay with numerous villages on its shores* is that on which Naban or Nabend is now situated. It is not far from the river called by Ptolemy the Bagradas. The place abounds with palm-trees, as of old.

Togana.—Now Konkan or Konau.

The bay lacks depth of water, still a stream falls into it—the Areon of the text. To the north-west of this place in the interior lay Pasargada, the ancient capital of Persia and the burial-place of Cyrus.

**Sitakus.**—The Sitiogagus of Pliny, who states that from its mouth an ascent could be made to Pasargada in seven days; but this is manifestly an error. It is now represented by a stream called Sita-Khegian.

**CHAP. XXXIX. Hieratis.**—The changes which have taken place along the coast have been so considerable that it is difficult to explain this part of the narrative consistently with the now existing state of things.

**Mesambria.**—The peninsula lies so low that at times of high tide it is all but submerged: The modern A b n-Shahr or Bushir is situated on it.

**Taokē, on the river Granis.**—Nearchus, it is probable, put into the mouth of the river now called the Kish t. A town exists in the neighbourhood called Gra or Gran, which may have received its name from the Granis. The royal city (or rather palace) 200 stadia distant from this river is mentioned by Strabo, xv. 3, 3, as being situate on the coast.

**Rogonis.**—It is written Rhogomanis by Ammianus Marcellinus, who mentions it as one of the four largest rivers in Persia, the other three being the Vatrachitis, Brisoana, and Bagrada.

**B**rizana.—Its position cannot be fixed with certainty.

**Oroäitis.**—Another form is **Arosis**. It answers to the **Zarotis** of Pliny, who states that the navigation at its mouth was difficult, except to those well acquainted with it. It formed the boundary between Persis and Susiana. The form **Oroäitis** corresponds to the Zend word *aurwat*, 'swift.' It is now called the **T a b**.

**CHAP. XL. Uxii.**—They are mentioned by the author in the *Anabasis*, bk. vii. 15, 3.

**Persis has three different climates.**—On this point compare **Strabo**, bk. xv. 3, 1.

**Ambassadors from the Euxine Sea.**—It has been conjectured that the text here is imperfect; Schmieder opines that the story about the ambassadors is a fiction.

**CHAP. XLI. Kata derbis.**—This is the bay which receives the streams of the **Mensureh** and **Dorak**; at its entrance lie two islands, **Bunah** and **Deri**; one of which is the **Margastana** of Arrian.

**Diridotis.**—This is called by other writers **Teredon**, and is said to have been founded by **Nabuchodonosor**. Mannert places it on the island now called **Bubian**; Colonel Chesney, however, fixes its position at **Jebel Sanam**, a gigantic mound near the **Pallacopas** branch of the **Euphrates**, considerably to the north of the embouchure of the present **Euphrates**. Nearchus had evidently passed unawares the main

stream formed by the junction of the Euphrates and Tigris (called by some the *Pasitigris*), and sailed too far westward. Hence he had to retrace his course, as mentioned in the next chapter.

CHAP. XLII. *Pasitigris*.—The Eulaeus, now called the *Kārūn*, one arm of which united with the Tigris, while the other fell into the sea by an independent mouth. It is the *Ulai* of the prophet Daniel. *Pas* is said to be an old Persian word meaning small. By some writers the name *Pasitigris* was applied to the united stream of the Tigris and Euphrates, now called the *Shat-el-Arab*.

*The distance from where they entered the lake to where they entered the river was 600 stadia.*—A reconsideration of this passage has led me to adopt the view of those who place *Aginis* on the Tigris, and not on the *Pasitigris*. I would therefore now translate thus:—“*The ascent from the southern (end of the) lake to where the river Tigris falls into it is 600 stadia.*” The fleet, therefore, could not have visited *Aginis*. The courses of the rivers and the conformation of the country have all undergone great changes, and hence the identification of localities is a matter of difficulty and uncertainty. The distance from *Aginis* to *Susa* appears to me to be much under-estimated.

The following extract from Strabo will illustrate this part of the narrative:—

“*Polycletus says that the Choaspes, and the*

Eu<sup>l</sup>œn<sup>s</sup>, and the Tigris also enter a lake, and thence discharge themselves into the sea; that on the side of the lake is a mart, as the rivers do not receive the merchandize from the sea, nor convey it down to the sea, on account of dams in the river, purposely constructed; and that the goods are transported by land, a distance of 800 stadia, to Susis: according to others, the rivers which flow through Susis discharge themselves by the intermediate canals of the Euphrates into the single stream of the Tigris, which on this account has at its mouth the name of Pasitigris. According to Nearchus, the sea-coast of Susis is swampy and terminates at the river Euphrates; at its mouth is a village which receives the merchandize from Arabia, for the coast of Arabia approaches close to the mouths of the Euphrates and the Pasitigris; the whole intermediate space is occupied by a lake which receives the Tigris. On sailing up the Pasitigris 150 stadia is a bridge of rafts leading to Susa from Persis, and is distant from Susa 60 (600?) stadia; the Pasitigris is distant from the Oroatis about 2000 stadia; the ascent through the lake to the mouth of the Tigris is 600 stadia; near the mouth stands the Susian village Aginis, distant from Susa 500 stadia; the journey by water from the mouth of the Euphrates up to Babylon, through a well-inhabited tract of country, is a distance of more than 3000 stadia."—Book xv. 3, Bohn's translation.

The Bridge.—This, according to Ritter and Rawlinson, was formed at a point near the modern village of Ahwaz. Arrowsmith places Aginis at Ahwaz.

CHAP. XLIII.—The 3rd part of the *Indica*, the purport of which is to prove that the southern parts of the world are uninhabitable, begins with this chapter.

*The troops sent by Ptolemy.*—It is not known when or wherefore Ptolemy sent troops on this expedition.



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